

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume 58

JUNE, 1963

Number 2

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL WRITINGS OF SENATOR ARTHUR PUE GORMAN

By JOHN R. LAMBERT, JR.

In the final decade of his long and active political career, Senator Arthur Pue Gorman of Maryland penned several short autobiographical memoranda dealing with key events in which he had played an active role.¹ In October, 1941, some of these documents were discovered at the home of his daughter, Mrs. Richard Johnson, and others at the home of his daughter-in-law, Mrs. Arthur P. Gorman, Jr., both then residents of Laurel, Maryland. At the close of World War II, these and other Gorman papers were placed on restricted deposit at the Maryland Historical Society, and in 1961 were presented to the Society by Mrs. Gorman.

Believing that these manuscripts are of more than purely

¹ Arthur Pue Gorman (1839-1906) dominated both the Democratic party and the Maryland political scene from about 1880 to his death. He served four terms in the U.S. Senate and became a power in the national council of his party as well as in the "Cleveland Era."

antiquarian interest, the *Maryland Historical Magazine* has undertaken to publish several of them for the first time. In so far as possible, editorial comment has been reduced to a minimum in the belief that Gorman's personal observations, albeit in abbreviated language, and with some amazing errors in spelling, read better than an over-edited version would. Gorman's dashes have been converted to appropriate punctuation marks, and where wrongly used, his periods have been deleted. Where Gorman did not employ punctuation (the comma in a series for example) marks have been inserted sparingly, only for the sake of clarity, for fear such changes would too greatly alter the nature of the Gorman manuscript. Readers wishing to obtain a fuller background account of the relevant episodes of Gorman's life can find one in the standard published biography.²

1. BIOGRAPHICAL MEMORANDUM

In April, 1905, Senator Gorman made a few notes concerning the early years of his career. In what appears to be the tentative beginnings of an autobiography, he describes his days as an employee of the Senate and his experiences during the Civil War.

Came to Washington Dec. 1850.¹ Served as Extra page. Beal Sgt. At Arms Old Chambr.

Name Senators, then in Senate

1851 Dec. Appointed Page—Regular.

The Libry Fire. Destruction of Bust of Washington—1905. Was Member of Committee to reced Duplicate given French Embassador. Only one present who had seen the Original.

Served as page until 1855. Appointd messenger in Post Office Jameson Post Master—Smallwd Spt.

1861. Brown Segt at Arms J. W. Jinnis Post M. I was made Assistant

Battle Balls Bluff. Trip on Horseback to Camp Genl Gorn [?] Frederick Cty.

1863—R. O. Knit Postmaster.

¹ Gorman was then eleven years of age.

² The only published biography of Senator Gorman is John R. Lambert, Jr., *Arthur Pue Gorman*, Southern Biography Series. Baton Rouge, 1953.

1861 Oct. 23 Gnl. Hooker. Maryland side Potomac River opposite Confed Batty—Mathias Point Got a Pass. Visited him to Witness [attempt] of vessels to pass Cannon[adin]g

. . . up in Baloon to see Battle

1864 G. I Brown Sgt at Arms Personal frnd of Genl Grant—inited to spend seval days with him at City Point on James River

Visit to Genl Butler Camp. Bumed Hudi [Bermuda Hundred] splendidly Entertained—Witnessed the Pickets in the [trees?] from top of an old hosp.

Saw Soldes Exc Tobacco & Papers. Went out over Tresl RR used for . . . Supplies for Mine oppos Petersburg. Was at table when Genl Grant Enterd at Lunch Genl Mead Butler General Rawlings and others of his staf

Genl Grant had his horses brought out for us to look at.

Jun 21

President Lincoln arrvd at City-Point on Boat with quite a party. Saw him on Bord as he grated Genl Grant Genl Rain [?] & other officers. We left shortly after his arrival. River full of *Iron Clads* and Transportes stopped at Fortress Monroe and then to Washington.

1864 July 11 & 12. Genl Early—Confed. forces appear before Washington. Abot the Date of Battle of Mocsy [Monocacy] All Gvt Employees were ord to organ in companies.

Senate offcrs . . .

Presnt to that Date Genl. William Hechey the Chief Clerk of Senate and Commdg offcr of District Malitr. Had with great form—and . . . Summnd in his presen[ce] at Sec. Off. A. H. Ragan and myself and delvd to us Commissn as Lt. on his staf—but we were not called into activ service. The attact on Waghtn out the 7th St. Road was on July 11 & 12. The Compy of which I was Lt. assnd in the Senate wing of the capitol with bard doors & closed windows. We had a few old muskets and one or two Swds. All frighted and ready to surrender on first Demands. The young of us when we heard the sound of Enms' guns reachd the roof of the Senate Cham and could distinctly see the burstin of shlls. We were a happy lot when Early retreated. Thus Ending our brief Military Service the Compy was disbanded. And I have studiously avoided Ever making it known how great a part I had taken in the War of the Rebellion. But I had a desire to see with comparativ safety someth of the conditions in the West. My frnd Segt at Arms Brown secured from Mr. Lincoln a pass for me to go anywhere withn the lines of the Union Armes, [with] that I took the B & O Road in Sept 1864. accompnd by Edwd L. Cushwa a Marylander and a subor[adin]

ate] offer of the senate. We went to Cincinnati then to Louisville whr we remnd a day or two and after being thourally Engrund [?] of We got transportatn on the L & Nas Rail Road to Nashvill intendg to Stop at the Mammoth Cave Here we were informd that that was vry Risky owg to hostil fealng of the few Nativs roamg around.

The road was in risky conditi[on] the . . . wasnt made of Green saplins on steel sheats as Genl Rine ord oth[er] places the condition of Tunnels. Once fird on from Ambush. We finally reachd Nashvill. Went to an old hotel I think The City and Early next day called on Andrew Johnson the Military Govr who Cushwa and I knew as Senator quite well. His surprise was great at seeing us but he was as gracious as it was possiable for him to be and he directed his subordinates to have us shown around the City and we visited the Points of interest where the fortificatns and Encampm were. There was a considble num[ber] of troops to guard the City & Country. Remand a few days but the change of water & Diate caused great trouble which resulted in quite an attack of Dissentry. Got from an old Physician who kept a Drug store a remdy, but only after we informed him we were Marylanders and not connected with the Army. Our Experiences on returng to Louisvill was attnd with inconvenes & Risk. A small band of Raiders had passed along the Road and set fire to the wood lin[ing] of a tunnel and had tamprd with some of the bridges. We finly reachd Louisvill sick and wore out. Then to St. Louis. Then to G. L. Brown's home at Alton, Ills. with whom we spent some days. His brother Capt. Brown having at Genl. Grants request constructed the flotilla to assist in oppening the Miss. Rivr. From these two we heard many of the Details of Gen Grant's life. When they were associated with him in the Army. Then to Chicago and finly to Maryland. It was a long time before I recovrd fully from the disease contracted on that trip, but the sights then I got of War and its destruction made me more of a peace Man than Evr. and yet gave me the Most Exalted Opin[ion] of the Power of the Govrnmnt and the wonderful resources of The People.

Impressions of Genl Scott

Scott Guards. B. A. Jameson. Genl McClellan & Marcy of his staf. Pa A & 15th Organization.

Battle of Balls Bluf—Genl Stone.

Genl W A Gorman.

2d Battle of Manassas.

Committee on Conduct War insistant.

McClellan desirg to postpone.

3—On to the James.

Retrate. Genl Pope defeat.

Mob of Sold[iers] without Arms.

4. McClellan Restored to Comnd

On to Antietam.

5—Fitz Jr. Pater Conclman [?]

Rev[erdy] Johnson Concde [?]

Coped some papers with him and Conferces.

6—McClellan Broken.

II. MEMORANDUM ON THE DEFEAT OF 1897

In 1895 the Democratic party suffered a resounding political defeat in Maryland, the first since Arthur Pue Gorman and Isaac Freeman Rasin had taken over the controls of the state and city organizations, respectively, in the late 1870's. In 1897 this defeat was repeated, causing Gorman to lose his seat in the United States Senate. In the following memorandum Gorman attempts to explain his party's failure at the polls.

Washington Nov. - 4th 1897

This Memorandum—I make this day. While—Events are—fresh in my Memory.

First. it was my fixed determination in August-last—to withdraw from public life and the publication in the Baltimore Herald was substating a Correct Statement. I then went to Saratoga Springs. and drew up a formal announcement of the fact in a letter to Mury Vandiver¹ the Chair of Dem State Central Comittee—and submitted the same to Thomas M. Lanahan—and I Freem Rasin² and informed John Walter Smith and Joshua W. Miles of the fact—These friends thought that such an announcement—would place in jepoday the success of the party—That it would demoralize the rank and file who had faith in me. And would be accepted as a proclamation that we would not succeed—and that. the Sun Paper and News and the Cleveland Mugwumps³ of Baltimore would continue in Hostility to the party. They begged me to delay it. I did and then the Split at Ocean City of the Republicans. Numerous frnds insisted that I should permit matters to drift. I did

¹ Murray Vandiver.

² Isaac Freeman Rasin, the Baltimore party leader.

³ Cleveland "mugwumps"—the supporters of ex-President Grover Cleveland, with whom Gorman had broken.

so. In the meantime I paid no attention to the nominations to the Legislature but As a rule the people in the Countes—nominating their best men nearly evy one my frnds—indeed the feeling was so strong for me that the Regular democrats wouldnt think of any one else for the U S Senate.

2d. The Nominations in Baltimore for Mayor Legislature & City Offices were made late. Mr. I Freeman Rasin didnt desire to take any prompt part his Judgment was that the Mayor should be a new man (or not Latrobe)⁴ Mr. T M Lanahan and a large number of frnds favored Latrobe and finally induced Rasin to support—Latrobe—J. Frank Morrison J J Mahon John Quinn and others hostile to Rasin were united in his support.

Loyd Jackson—Arabr H Taylor and the Jackson Associates of Democratic Merchats.⁵ Then I learned a formidable movment for Henry Williams—Supported by over 400 of the best Merchants of the City and it was evident that the Democrates generally were for Williams Rasin was waited on by his ward leaders and merchants and as it was in accords with his Judgment he withdrew his support from Latrobe and supported Williams. This created violent feeling against him by Mr Lanahan and others going so far as to separate them from all intercourse. But Rasin acted as I know from the best political motives and in accord with his Judgment; personally he preferred Latrobe and politically he knew that Williams if elected would not have been his friend or have given him patronage, but he thought he could be Elected, and as his interest was in my success he supported him. In the mean time it developed that John J. Mahon M A Thomas John Waters W P Whyte Isador Raynor and others had quietly made a combination to nominate Candidates for the Legislature in the 2d District of the City hostile to me. Rasin abandoned his non activity and went to the front to Nominate my frnds; this involved him in hot contest for May[or] Councilmen & all Else. Bitter ness followed and the Defeated faction filled the Sun & News with all sorts of storys and they began the War on him in the papers on the Hustings and from the pulpit. His power was magnified. All the Short Comigs of evry body for 20 years when we were in power were revived —& Enlagd upon. The old feelings against boss rule—More than revived. Not a single paper to Defend. Then the Sun and News opend its fight against me. The So Called Sound Mony Men with H A Parr reorganized to aid the Republicans. John K Cowan of

⁴ Ferdinand Claiborne Latrobe, seven times mayor of Baltimore.

⁵ Lloyd Jackson, Abraham H. Taylor, and the Jackson Association of Democratic Merchants.

the B & O Rod ⁶ was the real head and backbone of it—the Mony powr as well; he contracted to have his man Warfield ⁷ Post Master of the City to be retained in Consideration of his support. Cowans action was in violation of his promise *not* to enter the fight; but he did.

Then we democrts organised to carry the State by present organisation M F Vandiver as Chairmn of State Com H W Rush of City Commtee attnded to the Details in Baltmor. Rasin supervised from his office in the city. I took special charge of the countes from my house in Washington. With a few clerks but—the Most Valuable aid and ally was Richard Wrightman the Chief Editorial writer of the Washington Post; he wields the most facile pen and is the quickest to take a suggestion and put it in splendid shape that I have ever met; *he* revised the State platform [and?] my letter to E F Able ⁸ of Oct 15th and to H A Parr of Nov. 1st 1897. The Organization was perfect in the Counties. I aimed to carry the Legislature without B City, but at the same time made a tremendous Effort to carry two Legislative Districts in Baltimore. Rasin felt confident he could cary the first and possibly the Second. We failed in Both, and I can now see that I should have centered all on the first what could have been carried; *but* my frnds in Baltimore *were* more than niggardly in contributing the necessary funds for the Contest. Indeed I had to furnish more than half of all Expenditures in that City—together with all in the Counties. But locally the Counties or some of them did nobaly in that regard. Many of my outside frnds did well *but* I was greatly disappointed with many who I had a right to Expect to Assist. The fact is howevr they thought it was a forlorn hope, and men donot always remem[ber] past Services. So that I didnot have Sufficient means to win—As I could have done if they had done their part. *The* loss of the Legislative howvr occured in Montgomery Co. where we lost 3 Members of Hou of Delega because of the question of Whisky, and by the Sloth and inattention of our fnds. Carroll Co.—lost one. I think by treachery of some in powr Washington Co *One* but this was an accident. Harford one State Senator becaus a large number of regular Democrats would not vote for a man who had voted for Lowndes ⁹ for Governor in 1895. Talbott Co was lost which could have been saved with Sufficient funds—and two in Carolin Same reason. But take it all in all the County people

⁶ John K. Cowan, president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

⁷ S. Davies Warfield, retained in office by President McKinley.

⁸ Edwin F. Abell, publisher of the Baltimore *Sun*.

⁹ Lloyd Lowndes, Republican, elected governor in 1895.

responded nobly and I had no complaint—Nothing but gratitude for them.

The Conduct of the Campaign was as I Mapped it out. Little display, Organisation work mostly. I didnot make a speech only wrote the letter to Able—and Parr. The Able Letter I consider the best political move I have Ever made in the State. His paper by its Constant Statmnt that the party could succeed if I was Eliminated had made hundreds if not thousands belie[ve] that he Able and his paper were honest in their assertion and it was but natural that the ambitious and those who wanted the offices were most anxious for me to give them a Chance. In Other Words he had demoralised a Great Number of good Democrats. But when he declined to accept the offer, These same men shouted louder for me and Denounced the Sun more vigorously than any other. The result was our party was consolidated. New life was injected, particularly with the County districts, and as I have before intimated had I have Sufficient funds, I would have won. The night of the election it looked as if we had won but later returns show otherwise of course. My family and frnds were greatly disappointed. So far as I am Concernd, I have no regrets.

When in the Contest of course I fought hard planned well left nothing undone—that I could do. But, then long before the Contest I had fully determd that I was satisfied with my Experiences in public life, and desidrd to retire. Then Again I have Never felt Since 1895 that the Democrats could cary the State except under the most unusual and Extradnry Circumstances; this was Strengthened by the Events of 1896. So, that when the reverse came, which was forshadwed last night and Made certan today, I am as cool and Conteted as any man could be. That I would have been gratified to have succeed over the bitter and Malignat Enemies is of course true, but as we lost I am not worried in the least. I feel that I have done at least well while in public life. I Can I am Shure Enjoy whatever time I shall be permitted to live with greater independence and as much Comfort as heretofore. While not rich I can live Comfortably. I am Consious that I have the bitterest Enemys politicly, because of Disappointes of Some. Corporate interests are Malignant because I was Independent of them and did always what I believed to be the People's interest. Friends the best. A *Host* of them who believe in me never falter who in every Contest stand in the hottest fights, and battle as if ther vry Existace depended on it. To all of such I am bound by Hooks of Steel; they have never dec[eiv]ed nor I them. Now that powr and prestige is gone the impecunias the ambitious the vasalating will

naturally look else were; thats human, to be Expecd and No one should complain of it; but That Sturdy old guard who began with me in 1866 and the Sons of that Old Guard who have taken their fathers places—they stand as the hope of the party in the State; they will fight its battles and while they may utilise such men as Isador Raynor, W P Whyte, William Fisher, Frank Brown and other[s] of whom they are a represntv type who were honored by the party and yet stabd the old Mother in 1895 simply because they couldnot get more or greater honors, [t]hey will never forgive them or honor them. But, now the State is Republican; how or when it can be made democratic No—man can now see it, probably will be only when the Republican Excesses shall create a new revolution, but the Democratic party never dies cannot surrender as long as the Republic lasts. To the Cold [Colored] Men the intelligent Cold Men, I owe great support in the last Contest; they are begining to vote as Men and not on acct of collar; it's a good beging they have made ; it will grow A large numbr of white republicn openly supported me. To them I think I owe the Majority in Prince George Co & Baltimore Co. Lead by John T Ensor Particular in the Laurel District, they volunteerd to vote for me—from personal friendship and my kindness to them in the past. To my old and Native County Howard, its people had nevr failed me; in 1869 I was first a Candidte for the Legislature again in 1871,—for the State Senate in 1875 & 1879, Always a good Majority. So at this Election, I cannot Express my gratitud Faithful Faithful Always. My noble My first frnds May the good Lord Always bless you. You probly have had Sons with More ability to direct you but you havent had or will you evr have one who has ben truer to your interest, more anxius to promote your welfare—or advance its people in their person[al] affairs. The End comes to Everything. Politic[all]y mine is at hand; it has no bitterness I have no regreats I welcom it. As We do, a delightful Autumn day in Loyal Howard.

A P Gorman

Washington, D.C., Nov. 5th, 1897

Memorandum

On the Day of the Election Tuesday Nov 2^d I left Washington at 9:30 A M for Laurel and drove to the polls at Guilford. When I reaced there I found My Son—Arthur P Gorman Jr. and a number of my neighbors who greated me kindly. Arthur I had intrusted to supervise all the details for getting out a full vote

and to visit our friends in Clarksville district and make all the final arrangements. He did his part splendidly left nothing undone attended to Every thing with rare decision and Judgement; if he applies himself, he will make a leader of men and a capable organizer. He had for to assist him in the Sixth District My Old friend faithful for so many years Frank Shipley. Frank is quite discreet, reliable, knows all the Voters and how to humor them, Altogether the most Valuable Man in the district. Then Hobbs James L My Manager he did good work with the Colored man untiring and Effective. Louis P Haslup C W. Haslup P C Gorman Page Cranometer Chas Carr John L Slater Wm Brozena Wm R. Moran Jr & his son Robert Jas. White. Hammond Dorsey Jr—Mr. John H Owngs the Candidate for Clerk and others—all these did their full part, and they carried the District or Legislative ticket by 86, an unusual majority.

In the first District B C Sunderland G Hanson A Hopkins Ed Jones and others had charge of Committee work; they did well but Joseph Isaacs and Silverzen had the doubtful Voters in Charge.

2^d of Ellicott City District My old friends T H Hunt as usual overlooked the district Young Burt and the two Sons of J W Dorsey Young Scabbs and others did the active work. My friend John G Rodgers the leader of the bar of Howard was bold active and Effective; these together with other friends fought the fight in Ellicott City and did fairly well.

The Third District was in charge of Frank Parlett and John W. Renham; there was real trouble in the District. Dr. Hebb behaved badly though my friend, but the "Selbys" Enoch and his Son J. W. Selby staunch republicans Supported me. The result was a surprise to me the District giving an unusual majority. I was born in that District at Woodstock.

The Fourth was managed by J. W. Warfield Edwin Warfield and S I Tracey. My old and true friends they as always did the full duty Carrying it although it is A Republican.

Fifth District was well Managed in the End. Ferdinand C Poe—the Committee Man—did his best John T Hardy and G W Carr—who have been my warmest and most Successful Supporters for 27 years—bore the brunt of the Contest. Some of these individuals such as Coony, Miller and Republicans like Dorsey rendered good service and the result was a large increase in the Majority. Taken altogether the County Did Splendidly; it was lost in 94 95 & 96. The Vote shows the work, and the fondness of the people for me. John Lee Carroll was for me in this fight.

On the night of the Election I was at my house 1432 K St, this

City with my Clerk, Mr. Rose and W. H May Sec in Baltimore to Telephone the returns—my old friends—the friends of My father Col James G Berret Now 82 years old splendid in appearance vigorous and as true and devoted to me as if I was his son. Came to the house Early and remained until after 12 o'clock. The returns then indicated that we had carried the Legislature. So he went home happy. Never doubting that I would succeed; he has so much faith in my ability to win I doubt if he will Ever think I was fairly defeated.

Such devotion Such frndship of so long standing makes one believe—that there is more genuine unselfish Love between men than mny imagine. The others at my house were My Daughter Daisy, now Mrs. R A Johnson whos husband was in Dorchester Co. looking after my interests My Daughter Bessie and her husband W. J. Lambert My friend James L. Norris the most active Energetice worker in the District his whole heart and time was devoted to me.

III. GORMAN JOURNAL

By 1902 the Democratic party had regained political power in Maryland and Gorman was re-elected to the U. S. Senate for a fourth term. As chairman of the Minority Conference, he sought to reinvigorate his party's leadership in Congress and to repair the ravages produced by the failure of William Jennings Bryan on two successive occasions, in 1896 and 1900, to lead the party to victory in a national election. From his office in Washington he also attempted to restore some degree of harmony and party discipline to the Democratic organization in Maryland.

On the congressional scene, Gorman tried, and failed, to give his party a rallying point on the issue of imperialism, which the Caribbean policies of Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt had injected into the arena of national politics. On the purely political scene, Gorman tried to promote a return to conservatism in the councils of the Democratic party. And in Maryland, his efforts were directed towards Negro disfranchisement and the punishment of Democratic defectors to Republican ranks.

In December 1903 Gorman started keeping a journal and for the next few months (until March 1904) made almost daily entries in it concerning the three main areas of concern

to him described above. The story that unfolds in all three areas is, unfortunately for Gorman, a story of failure. To make matters worse, he was affected with declining health in the spring of 1904—a deterioration that resulted in death on June 4, 1906.

The Extra Session. Election of Chairman. Caucus Comm. Speeches. A report of Committee of 9. Names. Called Committee Blackburn & Bailey Tilman left Proxy. Caucus on Cuban Treaty. Resolved to Award it. Interview with President on it. Dinner at White House. Adjournment of Senate. Trip to England France & Return. Gubernatorial nomination. Spencer Jones, Smith, Vandiver & Rasin at Shoerham—To Nominate Warfield unanimously.

Election of Delegates to National Convention: Nomination of Arthur. Platform—Davis, Poe and Self. Caucus E Warfield and others. Meeting at Highland. Speech—Music—Hall Speech—Roosevelt. Action. Raynor & Sons Demand for Endorsement. Election.

Special Session of Congress: Organization. Caucus of Senators. Confirm with Williams of the House—& Carmack. Williams Speech—on Cuba. Agreement in Senate as to time of vote. President disturbed. Caucus on our action of Cuba Bill. Speedy interview with Lovell. Allowed B & O Meeting Washington Br Interview with Attorney Genl. & Jones & B Schley on—Constitutional Audit.

8th Dec.: Smith—Murray Vandiver of B & O. Speech on P. O. frauds. 9th: Warfield & H W Rush. J J Mahon Rasins Telegram. 10th: M Vandiver, visit on B & O. & Political Conference with Committee on Cuban Bill. E E Jacksons call at 8 P M.

Friday

Dec 11th

H. W. Rush and J J Mahon were here to Explain in regard to Committee acts to Raynor¹ and to say Rasin agreed to it and the Compact must be carried out—That Raynor gave 5000 to Campaign. They Professed to be all right on everything Else. Maj W H Thomas of Louisville Ky formerly of this City and at whos house on E St bet[ween] 2 & 3^d My father died came, took dinner with me talked over old times. He is an old Man who has met with Reverses but I was delighted to see him. During the Day John F. Coyle once a power with the Old Intelligence and in Andrew Johnsons administration begged 10 Dollars. I gave him five and Employed him to get at an article for me.

¹ Isidor Raynor, Baltimore Democrat whose election to U.S. Senate in 1904 Gorman tried, unsuccessfully, to prevent.

Saturday

Dec. 12th 1903

The Democratic Conference Was held at 10³⁰ A M to consider a resolution offered by Senator Berry, to amend the Cuban bill; ² it was strongly urged [by] this Senator and Senator Teller but was opposed by Baily Clay Blackburn and Gorman, who stated the only Effect would be to divide the party and accomplish no other result. He appealed to his Associates to unite pass a resolution where 2/3 of the Caucus so voted it should be binding on all matters of party interests. Blackburn offered such a resolution a Spirited Debate followed. Strong in favor of Blackburns proposition. The Conference—declined to authorise any amend[ment] to the Cuban bill; Senator Teller announced he would not allow another Caucus and would not be bound. We adjourned until Mond. 14 to Consider Blackburns resolution. Senator John Gill of Baltimore had a long talk with me about Maryland situation & Raynor. He feels bound to vote for him is all right on other Matters and will support Vandiver and Legislat[ure] for Constitutional Convention. Before leaving Committee rooms papers were placed in my hands in regard to transaction in P O. Dept. Miller of the Baltimore Sun came to me stating that Mr. Walter Abell wanted to see me; I named Tuesday at 2 Oclock. He wants to stop Suns attack on me. Senator McCarren came and had a long talk; he says there is So strong talk for Parker ³ in N York he thinks the State will be for him Agrees with me that Convention should be before Republican which is June 21st at Chicago. H G. Davis ⁴ came in while McCarren was here to talk over the Situation Political.

Sunday, Dec 13—

Spent Day at Home. Robt Larner Called. Mrs. Gorman returned from N York. H G. Davis came and talked over Political Matters. Said Mr. George Gold and F. G. Lansboru had decided to oppose re election of Roosevelt and would support me and Subs an 100 thousands, That he Col Lamn [Lamont?] and McLean would aid liberally. Said R Kearns told him the Meeting of Rep. Nat Committee was a funeral. Davis said W P White would like to be Sen-

² The Cuban Reciprocity treaty, granting Cuba a 20 per cent reduction of duties in return for Cuban reductions ranging from 20 to 40 per cent on U.S. goods.

³ Alton B. Parker of New York, Democratic candidate for President in 1904.

⁴ Henry Gassaway Davis, Gorman's cousin, Democratic candidate for Vice President in 1904.

ator. J K Jones Dem Nat Committee called and we talked over Political Situation. He is for Hirst,⁵ for President because Hirst had been kind to him. Agreed with me to have Early Convention, but thought N York would make the nomination but, he was for me, as he thought Hirst couldnt win.

December 14th, 1903

Would you be willing to have pending bill & canal treaty, exempted from this rule. [Appended Note] Blackburn handed me this in caucus. I answerd No. Sir. I think that is the one great measure we must defeat, or rather postpone until Dec 1904. Blackburn answer was—so say I

Talliifero says thinks the Legislature of Florida has instructed its Senators to vote for the *Nicaragua* route: Senator Morgan handed [this to me] in caucus.

Caucus of Senators at 10, on Blackburns resolution to bind all Senators on 2/3 vote in Congress. Long debate. Daniels, Tilman, Blackburn, Carmac, Stone, Morgan, Foster advocating resolution. Bacon, Cockrell, Berry, Malloy opposing it; finally vote was taken on postponing until tomorrow. Carried by vote of 16, 25 in Caucus. Senator Newlands offered resolution to reorganize Steering Committee: 5 South including Maryland 4 North. There are 6 Senators from the North—not considered but will be tomorrow.

Wacter⁶ called to see me, about Maryland Matters and to get an introduction to Senator Penrose. Talked with J R McLean on the Political Situation; says we will have solid Delagation from Ohio &c. W R. Hirst came promised me he would make his papers attack Post Office & other frauds and make it lively and would advocate conference Committees in House to confer with Senate. Didnot talk of his candidacy, was clever and very agreeable, offering to do anything I wanted in his papers talked of taking an interest in Baltimore paper.

J P Poe & Vandiver Dined with me. We have Engaged Poe to draft [a] Call of Constitutional Convention and Amendments and to reverse Election Laws & Registration on lines suggested. Vandiver reported Raynor told Board of Public Work he couldnot win suit against B & O for Dividents on Washington Branch. That they would sell stock above 2.⁵⁰ per share; thought bids must be asked

⁵ William Randolph Hearst.

⁶ Frank C. Wachter, Republican candidate for mayor of Baltimore, 1903.

by Advertisement. Will report again Thursday positive statement. So I may act as Director in B & O.

Tuesday, Dec. 15th 1903

The Democratic Caucus Met at 10. The Resolution of Senator Blackburn for 2/3 rule was debated until 12. M. The opposition resolved the case on an Amendment to Exclude the Cuban Treaty and Panama Treaty; it was voted down 11 to 16. And the Blackburn resolution past 23 to 2; Senator Cockrell not voting. The Debate was Spirited Baily Morgan Stone, for it; Cockrell, Foster, Mallory, and his Colleague, and others in opposition. A great deal of fealy [feeling] was Exhibited As it is the first time such a rule has been adopted. I hope it will be allayed and good fealy will prevail. Senator Newlands then offered his resolution to reorganize the Caucus Committee, which goes over until tomorrow Wednesday and at that Meeting a resolution will be offered to oppose Cuban Treaty.

Tuesday Dec 15 1903

Mr. Miller the Correspondent of the Baltimore Sun brought Mr Walter Abell⁷ to my Committee room at 2 P M by appointment—Miller left and we had a long talk over the Situation in Maryland, The attitude of the Sun on Raynor and Editorial on me. He is Extremely anxious about Raynors success. Thinks the people are with him. Intimated that Sun would support me for President,⁸ but final Expressed desire—for friendly action and Co operation. I told him Senatorship not in Contest: That Editorials were unjust and I resented the use of my name, That I would interfere if Harmonious action was threatened. Didnot want any special support for President. But wanted Sun to be a factor in Party. Complained of its Cours at Mayors Election and Governors. Discussed the amendment to constitution of State:⁹ That we would carry it through as the people wanted. Mr Grasty of Maryland Record called.

⁷ Abell had just succeeded his father, Edwin F. Abell—one of Gorman's chief antagonists—as publisher of the *Baltimore Sun*.

⁸ Gorman had, since the Democratic National Convention in 1892, been frequently mentioned as a possible presidential candidate.

⁹ The reference is to what was to become the "Poe Amendment," a proposal to disenfranchise Maryland Negroes by means of a literary test and a "grandfather clause" which Gorman was having prepared but which was to be defeated by the voters in 1904.

Wednesday Dec 16th 1903

The Democratic Conference Met at 10. AM. The resolutions of Senator Newlands was considered for reorganization of Steering Committee, and Sundry propositions were made to amend by increasing the Committee to 11. I finally Stated that the Caucus could do as they desired but I considered the whole move a reflection on my action and it would be so regarded generally that the motion must be modified as I wouldnot select the new members the Caucus must do that, that I would gladly Surrender the place as Chairman but I couldnot Submit to continue with any Senators thinking I had been unfair to any Section.¹⁰ The Caucus declined to take any action after which Several Senators Stone Blackburn Carmac & others appealed to me to adjust it. I told them frankly, I couldnot recede. I would be glad to vacate, so the matter Ended. The Caucus decided to permit the Cuban bill to go through without Amendment being offered and Each Senator to vote as he desired. And then to unite on Demand for Panaman Treaty¹¹ to be made public and to insist on Post Office Investigation.

Sen Baily Spoke in Senate making a Extr[eme] speech, reciting that we had agreed to act as a Unit when 2/3 were agreed; he attacked Senators who had been voting with the Administration. And the way he stated it gave great offence to several Democrats, but he Concluded not to get at a controversy on our side; So I refrained from replying. 9 Democrats voted for the Cuban Treaty Bill 23 against One not recorded. We succeeded on motion of Bacon in having the Panama treaty made public and Carmac introduced Post Office Investigation Resolution, which went over. Talked with Mr [Thomas Fortune] Ryan of N York over the Phone about a Maryland Matter—Gas. W Sultzer of N York gave me an account of his talk with D B Hill it amounted to very little.

¹⁰ Gorman, upon his return to the Senate in 1903, was re-elected to his old post of chairman of the Democratic Conference Committee (or caucus). Party discipline was virtually non-existent, and he was struggling to restore it at the time these entries were made.

¹¹ President Theodore Roosevelt had in November, 1903, promoted a revolution in the Isthmus of Panama and had forthwith signed a treaty with the revolutionary government granting the U.S. rights to construct a Panamanian Canal. The ratification of this treaty Gorman sought to oppose for *political* reasons without opposing the Canal as such.

Thursday 17th Dec 1903

Senator Hoar of Mass Made a great Speech on the Panama Treaty situation and Demanded all the facts condemning in the most drastic way the action of the Administration on the facts presented. It created consternation on the republican side. He had the close attention of all Sides of the Chamber. When he finished I took the floor; it was 1:30 the lunch hour but no one left the Chamber. And, all my Democratic Collegues showed by their Earnestness and applause that I had presented our side well. My speech had not been [p]repared and I used a few notes made at my desk while listening to Senator Hoar. Senator Foraker replied J. W. Miles came to see me to explain how he became a candidate for the Senate. And talked over the Situation. He is opposed to Both Smith and Raynor.

Friday 18th Dec 1903

Senator Daniels of Va Spoke today on the Panama Treaty. It was a fine Speech but not as full of fire and vim as was Expected; it didnot attract the attention of the Senate as did the Speeches of yesterday, which is in full in all the papers today, the Administration papers attacking viciously. Senator Hoar and Myself, Gov Smith Herring and Vandiver came and wanted to talk on the B & O case, Washington Branch Concluded to do nothing. Dr. Hill of Prince George's came tonight. He wants to be Speaker of H Dely [House of Delegates] is all right on Evything.

Saturday 19th Dec 1903

X Senator H. G. Davis Called at 9:30 to give me an account of his trip to N York. Harry saw Mr Whitney, Ryan, Lamont and Mr Pearce of Wabash. Says they are all most favorably disposed &c. Fred Talbott desired the Speakership for Dr. Everhart. Mr. Tibbett of B City called to say How much he could do in N York to controll Delegation. In the Senate Senator Peters made a speech on Panama. Henry Waterson and Sidney Webster wrote in regard to my Panama Speech. President Woodward of Hanover Bank N York says it is a good Dem Platform. Senator Newland talked about his resolution to increase Steering Committee. Bernard Carter came to talk over Maryland Matters: Constitutional Amendment & Consolidated &c & Personal matters H G Davis called again.

Sunday, Dec 20th 1903

John R. McLean Called and talked over the matter of Place of Meeting of Nat Dem Convention—and the time of meeting. It is a dreary day. So I remained in House with Arthur Mrs. Gorman Not being very well. Monday 21st. Was at my room Senate nearly all day. Mr. Babcock Member from Wisconsin called to express his warm personal friendship He is the Chairman of the Republican Cong Committee and desired to give me some suggestions as to Democratic Conditions in his State—and to aid me. He is of course a party man but would like to assist me in my party. We had a satisfactory talk about District Legislation. Fred Talbott called. B Carter told me over Phone to use his name as I desired to do in the event it was necessary.¹²

Tuesday 22nd December 1903

Took the 10. A M Train for Philadelphia and met Mr A J Cassatt [President of the Pennsylvania Railroad] in his office at Broad Street at 1 A M. I told him the whole story of President Loree of B & O bad conduct in Maryland. That he had surrendered to Vice President and Genl Counsel H L Bond all power in public matters, That Loree had violated his promises to me in 1901 When I was a candidate to keep neutral, That at the last moment he permitted Bond to place the whole power and money of the road against me, That after that he sent Bond to me and then to Gov Smith to offer aid and Support, That he violated the promise and spent 60 thousand to Elect Wachter Mayor, That in the last Election he instructed his people to try and Elect Williams for Governor, That he gave Jackson 15 thousand, Mudd and Macklin Each 10 thousand, That in Baltimore City he made a bargain with Democratic City Organisation to Nominate Grannan Sheriff and to Defeat Reps Delegation to Legislature as they were McComas Men, That his deception and participation in small matters was bring[ing] his road in disrepute, and that Loree was a non Entity in his hands, that it made his settlement of the Washington Branch matter impossible with them.¹³ Mr. Cassatt told me that the day before Loree was there and told him that in 15 days the Wash-

¹² Bernard Carter, a prominent Democratic lawyer in Baltimore whom Gorman attempted, unsuccessfully, to promote as a candidate for the U.S. Senate in 1904 in an effort to thwart the campaign of Isidor Raynor.

¹³ The State of Maryland had advanced money to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad when its branch between Baltimore and Washington was constructed and had obtained, thereby, a financial and administrative interest. The proposal to sell this branch set off the dispute described herein.

ington Branch Matter would be settled and at a price agreed on 200 per share of stock and that 425 thousand was the price agreed on for the stock, that he had written it down showing me the paper. I told him there was no truth in the statement that the Board was offered by John Donalson 219 per shr and wanted 250, That the law made it necessary for advertising 60 days &c, That the Canal couldnot be sold at this time by any public officer. Mr. Cassatt said it was most remarkable, That Loree told him he had had a most agreeable talk with me & told him of our talk and that it was the most plain and disagreeable one I have ever had with any R R President. His astonishment was great when I told him unless the conditions were changed I would be compelled to advertise this publicaly. He said it should all be changed in a few days. I spoke of Smith & Carter as regard to the Senate. He talked to me about V P Murray of B & O., and I left under the impression Murray would be promoted but he would communicate in a few days.

Reached 5th Av Hotel 5:30; at 8 called on T. F. Ryan 60 5th Av. Spent two and a half hours talking over the Political Situation and Presidential. He had seen Judge Parker who he likes and summed up the situation by saying he rather thought Parker would carry N York but, nothing Definate as Murphy of Tammany couldn't Commit himself beyond McClellan, That a Strong Movement was being made for [Former President Grover] Cleveland and of the Southern Men—combined to say they would go for any one N York wanted, Then N York would have the man. He Expressed himself as being for me but it was always with some reservation, as he wanted to be with the winner. At the same time he would help financially &c &c. He informed me of his Elec Light purchase in Baltimore and was willing for me to have an interest with him and Mr. Brady which I agreed to take. Arthur arrived at 5th Av Hotel at Breakfast time called on W W. Fuller [general counsel for the American Tobacco Co.] and had a long talk with him he seemed to be a good deal disturbed about the Political Situation. He thought the New York Politicians were for Parker and possibly for Cleveland; he thought Ryan and [William C.] Whitney and in fact all of them were simply looking at their own interest in N York and strongly advised against having the Convention there. He is my friend. Then we called on Col D S Lamont, and he gave me information about Hill D B thought he was against Parker and still had hopes of himself. Heard there was a strong movement for Cleveland by Quincy and Senator Smith and that same impression was made of J J Hill & that Ryan and Whitney

was content to go that way. Talked to him of Canal Treaty. He will look into it. Then went to Morton Trust had quite a chat with Mr. [Levi P.] Morton. He is affraid of Rosevelt. Thought there were a number of Democrats would could carry N York that I could. Talked with Ryan and made an arrangement to see Mr. Brady at my Hotel 9:30 Next day—on Balto Elec Light franchize; during the afternoon had some talk with George of the Balto American and at night went to Theater (New York) and there met C J Canda formerly the Treasurer of the Nat Dem Committee. He said he had voted against Mr. Cleveland going with a Caucus, but was certain Strong influences were for him that Mr C was terriably disappointed that McKelvy [St. Clair McKelway] of the Brooklyn Eagle had accepted his letter as a positive Declination and had put up Parker, that it looked to him as if N York would press his nomination.

Thursday 24th 1903

Had an Early Breakfast and Mr. Brady called at 9:30. I Explained to him the difficulty to get a new Charter by people of Baltimore for Electric Light Co. and that the offer was made to Miles & Gorman and to Rasin. He wanted it Stopped and would make arrangement. I then went to see W W Fuller and had a long talk with him and then with Ryan on Politicians and the Bussiness Matter. Then talked with Mr. Duke;¹⁴ he thought they wanted to nominate Cleveland, That he would not support him. Col. Payne was not in town. Came home on 3:25 train reached here about 9:20 and found Mrs. Gorman greatly improved. Arthur came with me he and Grace are to spend Xmas with us.

Friday Dec 25 1903

This is Xmas Day—a rainy disagreeable day; breakfast about 9¹⁵ and after looking at Sundry presents from Ada Arthur and Grace Daisy Bess. J R McLean James Young, & H G Davis called to learn all I knew. He and J R McLean had talked and as he is over anxious about my nomination, He thought our Convention should follow the Republican and to be held in N York—unless N should follow the Republican and to be held in N York—unless N York was against me. He repeated his talks with Whitney and Ryan &c. We Expect Haddie and her Husband to Dinner.

¹⁴ James B. Duke, founder of the American Tobacco Company, a corporation in which Gorman had a financial interest.

Saturday 26th Dec 1903

By Appointment—J. F C Talbott and Mr. Everhart of Balto Co. Talked over the Speakership; he wants it. He Stated Raynors agent Monmaneau had offered him and one other Member 1000 Each to reimburse them for political Expences. Rep. Babcock gave me a list of Democrats in Wisconsin. Willard Salisbury of Del called to discuss the Political Situation stated that Judge Grays friends were trying to Secure a Delagation for Delaware. Buchanan Schley called to discuss political Matters and the Western Maryland R R desire for Legislation at Annapolis to condemn [Chesapeake and Ohio] Canal property. Mr. Neal and Cassells of P A Rand called to discuss a bill I offered in Senate. The papers announced the Resignation of President Loree of B & O. H L Bond Telegraphed me for interview on Monday in Washington.

Sunday Dec 27 1903

I. F. Rasin Called and stayed until 4; he agreed on plans for organisation of Legislature & I think we can arrange satisfactorily all Matters. Talked with J R McLean on Political Situation. He says he will have Ohio. Mr. Neal of Ohio Spent an hour with me—and will aid in Ohio. R M Lerner made a call. Senator Culberson of Texas called to Discuss Panama Treaty. He will Stand firm. My Brother P C Gorman called and Lee Marriott and his family spent day.

Monday, 28 Dec 1903

Recd Letter from Gov [Elihu E.] Jackson in regard of purchase of Timber & Coal Land in Ala and Senatorship. President Loree of B & O Phoned and warned me of Meeting of Directors in N York; 2:30 tomorrow Tuesday. Judge McSherry and Spencer Jones came at 10:30; spent two hours on Constitution Amendment and Election laws. Very Satisfactory. Suggestions good. Will assist in working up Amendments on Suffrage and State Aid to roads. 3 o'clock Vandiver came and remd all night. We discussed Senatorial and the Legislative and organisation of Legislature. He now seas that [John Walter] Smith is in danger. J P Poe came at 6:30 with draft of Amendments and Election Laws; decided on numerous changes he will prepair and submit

Tuesday 29 Dec 1903

At 11:20 H L Bond Jr. of B & O called. The removal of President Loree and the Succession of Mr. Murray has made the most

wonderful change in Bond's attitude. Evidently Mr Cassatt had informed him of my talk. Bond Submitted the Statement of Washington Branch Road and then discussed his action Politically in Maryland. Said he wanted me to recommend some one who was satisfactory to take charge of Political Matters, said Dr. Shaw and Sam Turner had been suggested. I told him they would not be satisfactory, That I would later on suggest a good man. He informed me that Rasin would take charge of the matters at Annapolis during the Session. He had to Explain his action in the last campaign. Admitted he had given largely to McSherry Election and the two Judges in Western Maryland Wachter and Rasin in Baltimore. He said they would do all right in the future, That I would have no cause to complain &c. We discussed sale of Washington Branch Stock and touched lightly on canal and West Md. Said they would fight the acquisition of Canal Lands.¹⁵ Was anxious about Constitution Convention. Said he was opposed to Raynor and would do all in his power to defeat him, that he was so unreliable that no one would trust him, That he would see Williams of Montgomery and Rodgers of Howard and J J Mahon and would be delighted to do anything I wanted. Frank Smith of St Marys Co came. Stated the opposition to Gov Smith in all Southern Maryland and in Baltimore City, That it came from all sources and feared if he was Elected he would loose the State P J Cambell came to get me to assure him the Pardon of a young man. He thought Raynor was loosing ground said I L Strouse was denouncing Raynor for his betrayal of the independents who Raynor had formed to Join against Democrats in last campaign. Called to see Senator Morgan to discuss Panama Situation. He is as firm and determined as ever to discuss fully and bring out all the facts. He and 8 of the Senators will dine with me Thursday to determine on our course.

Wednesday, Dec 30th 1903

Gov. Smith & Gov Jackson J W Miles J F C Talbott all Candidates for U S Senate together with S C Jones States Senators Bell Nelson of P G—A P Gorman Jr. Rasin Vandiver Vic Baughman—Carothers of Cecil—spent from 12 to 4 P M at Lunch. We discussed and agreed to Amendments to Constitution and Suffrage Registration and Road appropriation by State. New Election Law and then agreed on Speaker & President of Senate. Jones Senator Everhart of Balto. Co. Speaker, and an Early Caucus for all Mat-

¹⁵ The now-defunct Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, which Gorman had once headed.

ters, and on the Legislation to have Commission for Sewerage—for Baltimore, That no Legislation on Oyster Matter Save the appointment of Commission to draft a proper bill. Senatorial Matter not discussed save as to party caucus on same. Senator Morgan Called and spent an hour and half on Panama Canal. Wired congratulation to O G Murray New President B & O. Recd his reply. Talked with Gov Elect [Edwin] Warfield over Phone arranged to have him & others at Lunch Saturday 2^d Jan 1904

Thursday 31st Dec 1903

This is the last day of 1903. A year full of startling events. I took my seat at the Extra Session of this Senate called to ratify the Cuban Treaty. Was unanimously selected by my party to preside over Caucus. Made a trip to Europe with Mrs. Gorman and Daughter Mary. Visited Haddie ¹⁶ in London made her home our Head Quarters. Campaign in Maryland a Notabl one made two speeches one in Howard and at Music Hall Baltimore. Arthur [Gorman, Jr.] Elected to State Senate. Great Victory in State 2/3 Legislature and Warfield for Governor. 2 Ex[tra] Sessions of Congress. Nov 9th Action of President on Panama Canal. Senator Hoar Speech and Mine. Today Thursday Dinner at my house 1432 K. Senators Blackburn Daniel Morgan—Pittis Stone Baily Culbertson & Senators Butler of S Carolina and H G Davis of W V, Full discussion of President on Panama Treaty Delegation to discuss it fully and Expose its defects and try and unite the most of our people.

Friday Jan 1st 1904

Spent all morning at post in my Office fixing up accounts and finding the year has been reasonably prosperous—financially. In the afternoon Mrs. Gorman and I called on Bess and Madie it being a delightful day like Early Spring. The night we had Arthur Grace and Richard Johnson & Daisy with us.

Saturday 2 Jan 1904

Spent the morning at Home and at 2 P M. Edwin Warfield Attny Genl Bryan, Murray Vandiver John P Poe Buchanan Schly and State Senators John Gill Jr T H Robinson James Young Spencer Jones Wilson of P George and A P Gorman Jr, took Lunch with me they remained with me until 8 P M. We discussed the Suffrage Amendment and Road Amendment to Constitution and the

¹⁶ Gorman's daughter, Mrs. Stephen Gambrill.

Election Laws fully. Warfield and Bryan were impracticable and rather inclined to be troublesome, Insisting on putting in the Property qualification—which I told them would defeat us at the polls. All but they agreed with me, and all finally agreed against the Constitutional Convention. But Warfield insisted as Did John Gill against concurring on these party matters on the Election Law. Bryan Gill and Warfield insisted on their Mugwump ideas so we passed that branch over for further consideration. The Senatorship was not considered. We parted but Warfield and Bryan are so elated that it looks as if they would be troublesome. But the party will move on.

Sunday Jan 3 1904

Murray Vandiver remained with me all night and after Breakfast Rasin came and we discussed thourally the organisation and both Branches of the Legislature and all the polical Legislation agreeing to move on and have the first caucus Tuesday, 12th for Treasur & Constitution Amndt and on the 14th Caucus for U S Senator. We canvassed the vote for Senator and found that Raynor would probably lead Smith and we couldnot make Smith win by any count. So, it may be we will have to take a compromise man. Still we agreed to Defeat Raynor if possible.¹⁷ Rasin will go to Annapolis and He and Vandiver will take general charge of party matters.

Monday Jan 4th 1904

The Congress reassembled at 12 today. Presidents Message on Panama read. Defence of his action declares that he had not Encouraged Revolution. McComas¹⁸ made a speech in defence of President—delivered to empty benches. Entertained at dinner Senators Greenhill Lewis Brewington and Perkins Representatives Linthicum Everhart Johnston Hill and Ray. Discussed Legislative Matters all were in good frame of mind and in favor of Constitutional Amendments and generally were in good trim. Sun had 2 Editorial

¹⁷ As the reader can easily infer, Gorman and the key members of his state Democratic organization were engaged in a somewhat frantic effort to forestall the senatorial election of Isidor Raynor. Raynor had achieved considerable popularity by defending the Maryland-born Spanish American war hero, Rear Admiral Winfield Scott Schley, before a recent court of inquiry, and he was determined to force his way into the U. S. Senate in defiance of the party machine. To do this he appealed directly to the voters hoping to break Gorman's power in the Legislature. Gorman's personal attitude toward Raynor can be summarized in a comment attributed to him: "the most consummate wind-bag Maryland has ever produced."

¹⁸ The other Maryland Senator, a Republican, whose successor was to be chosen when the Maryland Legislature met.

one saying that the Defeat of Raynor ment loss of State. the 2^d on Smith—

Tuesday Jan 5 1904

Gov. Smith came at 9:30 A M. Talked over the Situation in the State Seams to think he can win if he can get Jackson County ¹⁹ and wants to arrange with X Governor to go to Congress. Left a copy of his Message with me. Senator Lodge Spoke on the Treaty in defence of the President. It was a labored Speech, but he Concluded by making a violent attack on the Democratic Party and on Mr. Cleveland and Olney of Mass. whos Speech at N York yesterday was published in the Morning Papers of today. Miller of the Balto Sun called this P M. I Offered Resolution asking the President for further information regard to Panama.

Wednesday, Jan 6 1904

The Debate in Senate on resolution to investigate Post Office Frauds took a wide range. Carmack Clay Teller Spooner Lodge & Gorman participated: See Cong. Records. A M Bradly Sec of Anti Imperial League of Boston who represents X Sec Boutwell Called to discuss the Treaty pending. During the Evening B Schly Called to talk over affairs at Annapolis. Judge C L. Bartlett of 6 Dis Georgia Called to discuss Treaty and made suggestion to introduce Resolution Calling on President to Execute the Spooner act and proceed to construct Nicaragua Canal. Legislature organized and so far all goes along well. Atty Genl Bryan writes a Savage Letter against Poe and the Constitutional Amendment we prepared.

Thursday Jan 7 1904

Senator Morgan Made a Speech on the Panama Treaty it was a powerfull argument. The Democrats from the South seem to be terriably demoralised and it was reported that the Mississippi Legislature had instructed Miss Senators to vote for it—I think it doubtfull—if they can be held in line and It Seams to me we are abandoning the one great issue which we could go to the Country on. X Senator Lowe and I had a talk on it and he agrees with me. Senator Greenwell of St Marys Co. Called to get an account of Annapolis affairs. Senator Baseman came at night. Thinks he can Support Smith ²⁰ but advises a new Man; thinks 2 of his Delegates will be for Raynor but could take them all to Bernard Carter Says Frank Brown so thinks and told Walter Able.

¹⁹ Ex-Governor Elihu E. Jackson, Democratic leader in Wicomico County.

²⁰ John Walter Smith, elected Governor in 1899, and an aspirant in 1904 for the U.S. Senate.

Saturday 9th Jan 1904

I left Washington at 9 for Baltimore to attend the funeral of my old friend John E. Hurst, and to act as Honorary Pall Bearer. I met at his late Home his Sons—and distressed family. Mr H was the Most prominent man in Business in the City and always a warm friend of mine. I rode in a Carriage with Judge H D Harland J A Gary and W T Dixon—All warm friends of Mr H. At Renerts Hotél saw Rasin, Vandiver X Gov Jackson Gov Smith the later who was persistent on my going to Annapolis. The Speaker Everhart and Fred Talbot called. Talked to Bernard Carter on Constitutional Amendments. Came over from Baltimore with Mrs. Gorman & Daisy. Spencer Jones came at 7 to talk on Committees and the Senatorship. He thinks we cannot Elect Smith must get a new man.

Sunday 10th Jan 1904

John R McLean and H G Davis called at 10 to Discuss the time and place of holding Nat Convention. We agreed to Support N York and Convention after the Republicans. [William Jennings] Bryan returned from England has interview in papers. Wants the Convention West same platform as 4 years ago. Recd letter from J W Miles Saying Smith's Election would ruin party of course wants it himself; replied that his course on caucus would result in all of them being defeated. Took a walk with Arthur and met X Senator Carter of Montana Rev. Dr. Hale Chaplain of the Senate and his Son Arthur Hale of B & O came to see me. Had a pleasant chat.

Sunday Jan 10 1904

Robert Larner an Son Gorman Larner Called to chat, and informed me of Grid Iron And Dinner on 30 with President Cabinet and X Sen Hill of N York to be guests. J L Norris called to talk on his case as Member of Nat Committe. Drew up resolutions for Democratic Caucus at Annapolis and Spent Evening with family. P S—Mr Thomas Taggard of Indiana, Member of Nat Comm of Democ W H O'Brien Chairman of Indiana Dem Committe & Joseph T Fanning called to discuss place and time of Meeting of National Convention. They think their State can be carried; rather favor N York as place and time after Republican

Monday, Jan 11th 1903

The Senate confirmed Mr. Buchanan the Minister to Panama — Thus recognizing the New republic. All Democrats save Clark of

Ark voting against it. Vandiver and Speaker Everhart came to arrange Resolution for Caucus at Annapolis tomorrow night, on the Ammendments to Constitution and for the Committees in Senate and House to consider the same and Comitmttee on Claims in House of Delegates. L V Baughman came; he was most anxious about Gov Smiths Election which is in doubt. Mr. Clayton of Ala & Senator Simmons discussed place of holding Convention both are for N York. The Members of Nat Dem Committee are assembling Senator McCarren of N York Called; quite a Number will call at my house this P M. During the Evening Guffey of Pa McGraw of West Va Kenna of Del Hopkins and Shaw of Ill, Lamb & Shively of Ind Called.

Tuesday Jan 12 1904

Bernard Carter came at 9 A M from Baltimore to confer in regard to Constitutional Amendments, Insisting on further consideration and property qualification and omitting the understanding clause. Intimates it would create friction with Warfield &c. At 10 Lt Gov Shehan [of New York] called and as he represents Judge Parker, wanted to arrange an interview between us at some early date. I told him it was not necessary or wise that like Judge P. I was not making a canvas for the place ²¹ and that it would require all of our Strength to repress the Wild People, so we could move along our lines, and later on in what could be done. Senator Lewis of Allegany Co. came; he said he would vote for Mullin and then for Smith but liked Raynor. The National Committee met and the principle Contest was over the District Member; the Committee was against Sefton Jones Appointmt and finally the whole matter was referd to a Special Committee. Jones and the Bryan [supporters] were aggressive and wanted Convention at Chicago. N York People were not very anxious for that City. It will go to St. Louis I think. Senator McCarren told me that Murphy was for [ex-President] Cleveland but that N York would be for Parker. Mr [Edward] Murphy [Jr] McCarren & Mack of N York called at 8. Murphy was retticent but all his talk was in the Direction of Cleveland, Still leaving himself in position to do anything. They are opposed to Hurst [William Randolph Hearst]. So Supported St Louis as place of Meeting which was carried Buch Schley came and discussed his Senator ship. He goes to Annapolis and will tell Smith of the Danger. He thinks with me it will take some man like B Carter to Defeat Raynor. The Caucus at Annapolis passed resolutions I sent them and nominated Vandiver for Treasurer.

²¹ That is, the presidential nomination.

Wednesday, Jan 13th 1904

Was at Senate during this morning. Met quite a number of the Delegates and others who attended the Nat Committee. The papers made me responsible for the selection of St Louis. W J Bryan was here but I did not see him. Spent an hour with Gov Jackson on Political Matters and then 2 Hours with him and Mr Spencer President Southern R R on the purchase of Timber and coal lands in Tennessee. Mr. Jacobs Delegate from Oclahoma spent an hour with me; told of Bryans opposition to me. Tom Robinson Senator from Howard spent two hours; told me of Opposition to Smith in Howard Co Was for Carter. Carmac of Tenn made a great speech.

Thursday Jan 14th 1904

Doug Thomas Andrew Jones—F. A Furst Loyd Jackson—Collman and Mr Webb came to protest against Raynor and for Smith. F. Furst told me [Governor] Warfield had refused him the only request he had made for one of his Staf for a friend. He is very angry after all he did informed me Warfield was against Smith. It is another case of rank ingratitude. Senator Lewis told me he and Davis of Allegany was for Mullin and they would support Raynor. Bankhead of Alla talked over the Situation Politically Senator Morgan of Ala is getting ready to support the Treaty I protested in writing.

Friday 15th Jan 1904

Senator Teller made a Speech on Panama. I amended my Resolution of Inquiry, so as to get all of the information as to use of Troops in Panama, Striking out work "intervention." In that form Spooner agreed to it so did Cullom. Gov Smith Baughman, S Jones B Schley and Vandiver took dinner with me and remained until 9:30 The Situation as to Senate was gone over. The difficulty in getting Signers to Caucus call was great and the Demand for open vote seems to be Irestiable and will be carried. Senator Gadd of A A told me his County would vote for it and must leave Smith. Montgomery County is in same condition. So is Carroll and it looks as if Smith was beaten. But Smith is still so Confident that he cannot see the Situation nor are his friends frank with him save Baughman. He insisted that I go to Annapolis but I positively refused to do that. They left here in anything but a hopeful frame of Mind. I will have Jackson Miles and Talbott here to day with the hope that we can make him understand and select some one on whom our forces can unite. Otherwise Raynor will win.

Saturday Jan 16th 1904

Today, Spencer Jones, I F Rasin J F C Talbott XGov E E Jackson Joshua W. Miles came with Arthur [Gorman Jr] to talk over the Senatorial Situation. They were all averse to Raynor, but all agreed Smith could not possibly be Elected nor would Jackson and Miles under any circumstances vote for him or for a ballot in Caucus, unless he was Eliminated. We are finally agreed to take up Bernard Carter and Support him and do it on ballot in Caucus—Jones to Nominate him Jackson Miles and Talbott Each to get one of their supporters to second the nomination. Talked over the Phone with Carter who agreed to say to papers that he would accept. Talked with Senator Robinson at Belair who was delighted with the Arrangement and said all of his delegation possibly some one would vote for Carter. It was a remarkable conference and on the whole was more agreeable than I had hoped for—Fred Talbott specialy behaving well.

For Ballot

Raynor on Open Ballot		Smith	Carter
D			
B City	= 21 — 1	6	13
B Co.—	3 =	4	4
Harford	3 =	2	4
Carroll	2 1 =	5	4 = 1
Wash	1	2	2
Alley	2 —	2	3
Monty —	3 1 =	2	2
Howard	1	5	4 = 1
P Gr	1 1	3 =	4 —
A A	3	1	1
Kent	2	3	3 =
Anne	1	2 Carolina	2 —
	<hr/> 43	3 Talbot	3 —
		4 Wicomico	4
		4 Woster	
		<hr/> 48	
		2 Cecil	2
		<hr/> 50 =	<hr/> 4
		Sr	
		<hr/> 54	<hr/> 59

The above figures were made at
conference Jan 16th 1904

Sunday 17th Jan 1904

The Morning Baltimore Sun came with a full account of the Meeting at my house yesterday which was Evidently given by Gov Jackson or Rasin. I talked with Rason over the Phone and he admitted that reporters run him down Saturday night and in his Excitement I think he gave it all away; the Sun was very hostile to Carter. I talked to Carter and He seems anxious about his case. Spencer Jones Came and compleated his Committees and still says it will be impossible to Elect Smith. Smith and his partner Francis Waters came at 7 P M and both were in a very aggressive mode demanding that I go to Annapolis which I declined to do. Smith says Jackson and Rasin told him of the suggestion of Carter and announced in the most positive way that he would remain in the field and that Maus told him today that Anne Arundle County would vote for Raynor as soon as he Smith was out of it. So the situation is more than muddled and Smith's failure will result in having him to fight hereafter.

Monday, Jan 18th 1904

Senator Nelson of P George Delegate Hill C C Crothers B Schly, J K George and Mr. Harington of Talbott called to discuss the Senatorial Matter. Gov. Smith telegraphed and talked over the Phone that he had arranged with Jackson—and Jackson wrote that he had agreed with Smith to vote for each other. The Caucus was held at 8 P M at Annapolis, Smith Raynor and Jackson forces united and adjourned without taking a vote 35 to 50. So they go into open vote in House & Senate tomorrow. I ordered our people to Scatter tomorrow and not show their hands. Arthur told me Smith was complaining bitterly of me, and I suppose there will be a good deal of fealing. I made a short speech in Senate to day on Post Office Investigation.

Tuesday 19th Jan 1904

A Busy Day—Democratic Caucus to Consider the Panama Situation. Decided after long discussion to appoint a Committee of 3 to Consider what we should do. I appointed Cockrell Carmack and Culberson—with myself. Arthur came from Annapolis to give account of proceedings Gen Miles called to discuss general affairs. Alonzo Miles came to ask aid for his brother.

(To be Continued)

JONATHAN BOUCHER: THE MIND OF AN AMERICAN LOYALIST

By PHILIP EVANSON

Among the faithless faithful only they
Among innumerable false unmoved,
Unshaken, unseduced, unterrified,
Their *loyalty* they kept, their love, their zeal;
Nor number, nor example with them wrought
To swerve from truth, or change their constant mind.¹

JONATHAN BOUCHER was a Loyalist, but he was also a human being. He cheerfully admitted his shortcomings: "It is . . . an undoubted fact that both young and old I was naturally lazy and hated work."² Unlike Franklin, who assiduously sought self-improvement, Boucher aimed for the time when neither cares nor wants nor striving for self-improvement would disturb his peace of mind. As a growing boy he saw "something that looked like genteel life" and it inspired him with "some taste and longing for it." At age thirty-five he could write from Maryland to his closest friend, "I am looking round me for a plantation which when I have purchased . . . I flatter myself I may quietly repose . . . for the remainder of my life . . . blessed with . . . ease, competence and independence."⁴ He might inveigh against sloth and idleness from his pulpit, but colonial libertinism, which

¹ Jonathan Boucher's tribute to the Loyalists, based upon Milton's *Paradise Lost*, V, 897-902. Quoted in Leonard W. Labaree, "The Nature of American Loyalism," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 59 (April 19, 1944), 20.

² Jonathan Boucher, *Reminiscences of an American Loyalist, 1738-1789*, ed. Jonathan Bouchier (New York, 1925), p. 10. Hereinafter this book will be referred to as *Reminiscences*.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁴ Jonathan Boucher to Reverend Mr. James, July 10, 1772, "Letters of Jonathan Boucher," *Md. Hist. Mag.* VIII (June, 1913), 181. Hereinafter this correspondence will be referred to as Boucher to James or Boucher to Knox.

he called "the reigning topic," on more than one occasion tempted him.

While Boucher never concealed his pursuit of ease, he always extolled the virtue and necessity of courage and principles. He recognized his principles were unpopular with the bulk of his colonial parishioners, but "having . . . gone over . . . the ground I have taken . . . with great care," Boucher felt that he should not easily be driven from it.⁶ Neither the hostile threats of enemies nor the earnest appeals of friends prevented him from fulfilling what he felt to be his duty. In his sermons he never hesitated to answer his antagonists, and while always trusting in God's strength, he nevertheless preached "for more than six months . . . with a pair of loaded pistols lying on the cushion; having given notice that if any man, or body of men, could be . . . so lost to all sense . . . as . . . to do what had been . . . threatened, I should think myself justified . . . in repelling violence by violence."⁷ When a "stoutish neighbor" of patriot mind determined to provoke a trial of strength with him, the good parson, though "utterly unused to boxing," determined to have the first blow, and "this lucky blow," as he called it, not only took more than the measure of his opponent but raised Boucher's credit throughout the community.⁸ Though at times in mortal peril, it appears that Boucher relished these confrontations, and found their retelling exhilarating. When a group of patriots toasted the rebel cause, "May the Americans all hang together in accord and concord," Boucher replied, "In any cord . . . so it be but a strong cord."⁹ This comment earned for Boucher threats of pummeling, and on the whole we may say that the Tory parson, whether in his pulpit or at informal gatherings, rarely opened his mouth without raising patriot tempers.

Vernon Louis Parrington apostrophized Jonathan Boucher as "an extreme Tory."¹⁰ Before determining what this means,

⁶ Boucher to James, August 19, 1759, VII (March, 1912), 11.

⁷ Jonathan Boucher, *A View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution* (London, 1797), p. 504. Hereinafter as *Causes and Consequences*.

⁸ Boucher, *Reminiscences*, p. 113.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

¹¹ Vernon Louis Parrington, *The Colonial Mind, I, Main Currents in American Thought* (New York, 1954), xix.

it will be useful to look into the background of our subject's life. Boucher was born March 1, 1738, in the village of Blencogo in northern England.¹¹ He was raised in this humble hamlet, and in his own words, "I have nowhere ever seen so thoroughly obscure and unpolished a village."¹² According to the editor of his autobiography, the Boucher family claimed Norman origin, but the landed estates which it once held had been greatly reduced during the English civil war, and Boucher's early years were a "continuous struggle with poverty."¹³ Boucher states that during the civil war the head of his family sided with Parliamentary forces "and lost, as he deserved to do, a large part of his estate by it."¹⁴ His father, James Boucher, had Jonathan by a second marriage, and between running an ale house and teaching school he and his family managed to survive and keep what remained of their debt-encumbered estate.¹⁵

Young Jonathan learned to read and write before he began attending school. He tells us that when at age six he began going to school he could read and spell almost as well as he could at the time of writing his memoirs.¹⁶ As a youth he carted coals, turf and peat, and during haying time and harvest seasons, he "drove the plow and wrought without intermission."¹⁷ These experiences encouraged Boucher to seek better things, and at age sixteen he began to teach. In 1756 he sought employment as an usher at the school in St. Bees under the Reverend Mr. James. This cleric-schoolmaster became Boucher's patron, and although their initial interview resulted in James pronouncing that he was "shocked to see how miserably I [Boucher] had been educated," the good reverend set to work to mend his usher's deficiencies, and their relationship proved to both a decided success.¹⁸

A generous inducement and the promptings of James persuaded Boucher to go to Port Royal, Virginia, as a tutor in 1759.¹⁹ His initial comments on colonial Virginia were mixed.

¹¹ Boucher, *Reminiscences*, pp. 5, 15. Neither Boucher nor his editor are certain whether he was born in 1737 or 1738.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹³ *Ibid.*, viii.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

¹⁹ *DAB*, II, 474.

Nature it appeared had been generous to the colony: "The country here . . . is most invitingly delightful. Plenty & abundance are nowhere wanting; and . . . ye inhabitants with satisfaction and pleasure enjoy them."²⁰ But the colonial inhabitants were less pleasing: "There Manners and Conversation are in almost every Thing ye very opposite of my Taste."²¹ Though hospitable and generous to an unusual degree, the colonists were crude. Boucher found almost intolerable, "their forward obtrusion w^c subjects you to hear obscene Conceits and broad Expression; & from this there are times wⁿ no sex, no Rank, no conduct can exempt you."²²

In 1762, the rectory in Hanover Parish become vacant, and to Boucher's surprise, the vacancy was offered to him. He sailed to England to take orders and then returned to Virginia to begin his prominent and stormy career as a minister of the Church of England. Boucher's advancement within the Anglican church was steady; he succeeded to better parishes until in November, 1771, he was appointed by Governor Robert Eden to the lucrative and prestigious Queen Anne's parish at Annapolis.²³ It was here that Boucher remained until his return to England in 1775. This posion made him *ex-officio* chaplain of the Maryland Assembly, and thenceforth politics and religion would for the parson be inextricably interwoven.

Boucher recalled that the "management of the Assembly was left very much to me." Furthermore, "All the Governor's speeches, messages, etc., and also some pretty important and lengthy papers from the Council were of my drawing up."²⁴ According to John C. Miller, the Stamp Act marks the point after which there was no middle course for a colonial governor.²⁵ Boucher's close association with the royal governor during the early seventies made him a marked man, and rendered his position as a minister of God worthless to those of patriot sympathies. Boucher himself did not seem to realize that his political prowess was compromising his ecclesiastical efficacy.

²⁰ Boucher to James, August 7, 1759, VII (March, 1912) p. 4.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²³ Commission Book 82, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXVII (March, 1932), 31.

²⁴ Boucher, *Reminiscences*, p. 92.

²⁵ John C. Miller, *Sam Adams, Pioneer in Propaganda* (Stanford, 1936), p. 171.

He was surprised to find that his Assembly role caused his parishioners to regard him as "an obnoxious person," since he was advancing in the Assembly only those views which he believed "to be for the true interest of the country."²⁶

Boucher would not always have been considered "an obnoxious person." Like nearly every other colonist, he at one time was in opposition to British decrees. At the time of the Stamp Act controversy he wrote to his friend James,

You cannot conceive w't a sad Situation We are in, occassioned by this terrible Stamp Act. The Troubles & Alarms in England in 1745 hardly exceed what is now to be seen or heard of, every Day all over North America The Act . . . is, in every Sense, oppressive, impolitic & illegal The poor Americans . . . are truly to be pitied: their best and dearest Rights, w'c, ever like Britons They are anxiously jealous of, have been mercilessly invaded by Parliament, who till now never pretended to any such Privileges; & who, even supposing They had a Right to impose on us . . . an internal Tax, are as ignorant of ye means of doing it . . . as They w'd be to prescribe an Assessment for ye inhabitants of Kamschatka.²⁷

England was criticized for failing to acquaint herself with the needs and conditions of the colonies:

You will hardly believe how . . . ignorant They [the British government] are of ye present State of ye Colonies. Nobody of Consequence comes amongst us to get any personal Informat'n of our affairs, & Those Entrusted to communicate such intelligence are themselves either too ignorant or too knavish to give any to be depended upon.²⁸

Four years later colonial opposition to the Townshend Acts was praised in even more glowing terms: ". . . I do think the American Opposit'n the most warrantable, generous, & manly that History can produce."²⁹ Here surely are words that would have pleased Sam Adams and the Sons of Liberty. Yet, in spite of these sentiments, Boucher became a Tory stalwart, and one of the strongest supporters of harsh repression in the colonies. In order to understand this change of mind it is necessary to

²⁶ Boucher, *Reminiscences*, p. 93.

²⁷ Boucher to James, December 9, 1765, VII (September, 1912), p. 295.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 296.

²⁹ Boucher to James, July 25, 1769, VIII (March, 1913), p. 45.

consider Loyalism in general and Jonathan Boucher's beliefs in particular.

Although it is dangerous to classify human beings, one commentator braves these perils in drawing up seven classifications of Loyalists: (1) office holding Tories, whose incomes depended upon the existing regime, (2) persons whose friends were among the official class, (3) conservative people of all classes, (4) the dynastic Tory, the King-Worshipper, (5) legality Tories who believed the British Constitution gave Parliament the right to tax, (6) religious Tories with their motto, "fear God and honor the King," and finally (7) factional Tories whose action was determined by family feuds and old political animosities.³⁰ Boucher can very nicely be placed in five of these categories. Although not dependent upon the crown for his income, Boucher, as an Anglican minister, was bound by oaths of allegiance and obedience to the King. These oaths were reinforced by his natural sympathy for monarchy as well as his understandings of Holy Writ. Most of his friends were among the official or Tory class, this being increasingly true in his final years in America. Finally Boucher was deeply conservative, distrusting republicanism and regarding democracy as little more than anarchy. His history books, his favorite philosophers and his Bible told Boucher that a society without a king was like a mollusk without a shell. In the long run neither a republic nor a democracy could survive, yet alone meet Boucher's supreme test of good government, "that the people living under it enjoy peace and quietness."³¹

Boucher's natural conservatism was reinforced and clarified by his study of philosophy. He knew Locke and Hobbes, but he chose for his mentor the seventeenth century monarchist, Sir Robert Filmer. Filmer's most important work, *Patriarcha*,

³⁰ Claude Halstead Van Tyne, *The Loyalists in the American Revolution* (New York, 1902), pp. 25-26.

³¹ Boucher, *Causes and Consequences*, p. 181. The nature of the eighteenth century conservative mind can hardly be stressed too much. This conservatism, more than any other factor, was the common denominator which characterized nearly all the Loyalists. Leonard Labaree comments, "A lowly tenant farmer of New York colony, or an insignificant shopkeeper of a north Carolina village could be just as faithful to the crown as the Reverent Jonathan Boucher of Maryland, or His Excellency Governor Thomas Hutchinson of Massachusetts. Loyalism was not only a consequence of social or economic position; it was quite as much the result of an attitude of mind" (Labaree, *op. cit.*, p. 36).

was a fit complement for the Bible and therefore for parson Boucher. The thesis of *Patriarcha* is simple. God created Adam, the first man and the first patriarch. From Adam's body he made Eve, the companion of Adam and the mother of all mankind. But she is inferior to Adam as he is inferior to God; woman being derived from man is always inferior to him.³² Adam receives the earth as his domain, and his first son, by virtue of being first, inherits that domain from his father. Thus, primogeniture is established in the first family of man. This first family is also the first society and its practices reflect the natural laws for all society, then, now and hereafter. As we have seen, they include the primacy of the patriarch, the superior rights of the first born, and the inferior status of woman. It therefore follows that paternal and absolute monarchy, private property, and obligations rather than freedoms are the essence of natural law and political societies. Any other systems are both unnatural and ungodly and these political aberrations carry within themselves the seed of chaos. *Patriarcha* presumes that society from its beginning followed unconsciously practices ordained by God.³³ These deductions followed flawlessly from Genesis. As such, they were based upon a myth which was nevertheless no more unreasonable than John Locke's phantasmal contrivance, the social contract. Boucher saw through the Lockean illusion. For him, the natural rights school of thought deduced society from,

some imaginary compact. They suppose that in some . . . fabulous age of gold, a multitude of human beings, who, like their brother beasts, had hitherto ranged the forests, without guide, overseer, or ruler—at length convinced, by experience, of the impossibility of living either alone with any degree of comfort or security, or together in society, with peace, without government—had . . . met together in a spacious plain, for the express purpose of framing a government.³⁴

³² Sir Robert Filmer, monarchist, can agree with John Milton, Puritan and Republican, on the status of woman, for Milton, who also discusses our first family, wrote in *Paradise Lost*, "He for God, She for God in him."

³³ For a more thorough exposition of Filmer's political thought see Peter Laslett's introductory commentary in his edition of Filmer's writings. Peter Laslett, ed., *Patriarcha and other Political Works of Sir Robert Filmer* (Oxford, 1949), pp. 10-43.

³⁴ Boucher, *Causes and Consequences*, p. 519.

After this dash of ridicule, Boucher continued in a more serious manner:

By asking another to exercise jurisdiction over me, I clearly confess that I do not think myself equal; and by his consenting to exercise such authority, he also virtually declares that he thinks himself superior. And, to establish this hypothesis of a compact, it is further necessary that the whole assembly should concur in this opinion—a concurrence so extremely improbable, that it seems to be barely possible. The supposition that a large concourse of people, in a rude and imperfect state of society, or even a majority [would accept] various restrictions, many of them irksome and unpleasant, and all of them contrary to all their former habits, is to suppose them possessed of more wisdom and virtue than multitudes in any instance in real life have ever shown.³⁵

To Boucher's uncomplicated and rather commonsensical mind, the social contract was a manifest absurdity. On the other hand, his conviction that the Bible was in every sense and every word the embodiment of veracity made Sir Robert Filmer's *Patriarcha* the most reasonable, indeed the ideal, theory of the body politic. Peter Laslett, the editor of Filmer's political tracts, calls Boucher the champion and the best defender of this philosopher.³⁶ Parrington agrees that Boucher's most "cherished discovery" was *Patriarcha*, but he dismisses this work as "an absurd jumble of Hebraic precedent and Tory prejudice."³⁷ Boucher is indeed guilty of receiving Filmer's tutelage, but perhaps the crime is not as heinous as Parrington would desire.

Sir Robert Filmer predicted that anarchy would be the only fruit of the blossom of natural rights and the social contract. As Boucher viewed America during the 1770's his prediction seemed to be realizing itself, and for the conservative such social disorder was appalling. Boucher listened with regret to the tale of a college oration delivered by a student at a Princeton commencement ceremony. In a letter to James he wrote,

I was told by Dr. Smith, Provost of the College of Philad'a [that] a Student delivering some oration on Governm't, w'th a vast shew

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 520-21.

³⁶ Laslett, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

³⁷ Parrington, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

of Erudit'n affected to derive it all from a Compact between King & People—that certain conditions were stipulated for by each of the contract'g parties, on the Failure, or Nonperformance of which, on either side, the Compact became void—that our King, by consent'g and passing Laws so *oppressive* to America, had violated the Conditions, & therefore forfeited all Title to allegiance.³⁸

For Boucher, as for other Tories, such an assertion was not only seditious, but was tantamount to revolutionary upheaval. If the people owed no allegiance, they had the right to resist obnoxious government, and resistance to civilian authority was disobedience to God. We must render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and for Boucher this implies "that unless we are good subjects, we cannot be good Christians."³⁹ By a curious twist of logic this assertion was reinforced by the claim that our paramount duty is to be good Christians, and neither the Apostles nor our Savior "ever did interfere with the affairs . . . or the administration of any government, otherwise than by submitting to them."⁴⁰ Christ himself discouraged those schemes

. . . so well calculated not only to promote his own elevation, but to emancipate his country [which] would have been inconsistent with that love to mankind which he manifested in every other action of his life The only rational conclusion [is that] he thought it would be better [that] people should not be distracted by a revolution, and . . . that there should be no precedent to which revolutionists might appeal⁴¹

It was this point of resistance to authority, and the violence which sooner or later followed, that provided the cause for the final break between patriot and Tory.⁴² No Loyalist could acknowledge a right of revolution. Such a belief is one of the insights into the conservative mind, for no right can exist which when executed is inimical to the society which assures its exis-

³⁸ Boucher to James, November 16, 1773, VIII (June, 1913), 184.

³⁹ Boucher, *Causes and Consequences*, p. 538.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 540.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 542.

⁴² Labaree comments that no conservative citizen could enjoy reading that "a fellow subject has had his house pulled down and been robbed of his furniture and money," because he had differed in opinion with the patriots (Labaree, *op. cit.*, p. 55).

tence. Yet, if this is one of the strengths of the conservative mind, it is more than offset by tragic weaknesses. Although they read the speeches of Burke, Jonathan Boucher and his fellow Tories could not understand Burke's statement, "We must all obey the great law of change."⁴³ That this law was the "most powerful law of nature, and the means perhaps of its conservation," was apparently either dismissed or unintelligible to them.⁴⁴ The Tories lacked that "sufficient faith in mankind, in common, [and the Loyalists in American mankind, in particular] to believe that out of disorder and violence, out of an inexperienced leadership and an undisciplined following, could come a stable and intelligent body politic."⁴⁵

Since resistance was proscribed, what channels for reform remained open to the oppressed? Boucher's answer was to invoke the constitutional procedures of Great Britain. Submit "public questions to public decisions of a Constitutional Legislature."⁴⁶ Petition the government and employ all methods of suasion that were duly sanctioned by tradition and the law. But when petitions and pleas came to nothing, the colonists began to ask one another where they should turn. Boucher gave his answer from his pulpit. It is a curious response which to the ears of his parishoners as well as to the modern reader is woefully unsatisfactory: ". . . it is your duty to instruct your members to take all the constitutional means in their power to obtain redress: if these means fail . . . you cannot but be sorry . . . but you will better bear your disappointment, by being able to reflect that it was not owing to any misconduct of your own" ⁴⁷ These means failing, the citizen must submit:

Obedience to government is every man's duty, because it is every man's interest If the form of government under which the good providence of God has been pleased to place us be mild and free, it is our duty to enjoy it with gratitude and with thankfulness If it be less indulgent and less liberal than in reason it ought to be, still it is our duty not to disturb and destroy the

⁴³ Quoted in Russell Kirk, *The Conservative Mind* (Chicago, 1960), p. 52.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Labaree, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

⁴⁶ Boucher, *Causes and Consequences*, p. 409.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 559.

peace of the community by becoming refractory and rebellious subjects, and resisting the ordinances of God.⁴⁸

The doctrine of passive obedience has come down to us intimately associated with Jonathan Boucher. He has been duly judged and condemned on its basis, and while it was the least satisfactory part of his political thought, it was also, unfortunately, the most prominent.

Jonathan Boucher had come to love America, but his unpopularity forced him to return to England. He departed on the tenth of September, 1775.⁴⁹ At first he thought to leave his wife in America, thereby enabling her to care for their estate until "the storm would blow over."⁵⁰ She apparently lacked the fortitude necessary to execute this plan, and both of them returned to England. Boucher left behind, in his own words, "all the interests I had in the world."⁵¹ The finis to Boucher's American career is symbolized by an advertisement that appeared in the *Maryland Gazette* on July 5, 1777. There appeared the notice of a "sale by auction" of "the well chosen library of the Rev. Mr. Boucher."⁵²

Once in England Boucher did not hesitate to suggest how the rebellion might be suppressed. In a letter probably addressed to William Knox,⁵³ then an under secretary of state, and dated November 27, 1775, Boucher asserted that there were two ways to crush the revolt: first, convince the opposition of the folly of armed resistance by decisively defeating Washington's army; second, convince the rebels that their prosperity is dependent upon commercial intercourse with Great Britain.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 508.

⁴⁹ Boucher, *Reminiscences*, p. 141.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² Joseph Towne Wheeler, "Reading Interests of the Professional Classes in Colonial Maryland, 1770-1776," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXVI (June, 1941), 195.

⁵³ Jonathan Boucher to William Knox, November 27, 1775, VIII (September, 1913), 249-252.

⁵⁴ Boucher did not recognize that the prosperity issue was Janus-faced. Burke, in his speech on Conciliation, had pointed out that one-third of British commerce was with North America. George Dangerfield, in his *Era of Good Feelings* (London, 1953, see pp. 258-261) carefully shows how important good commercial relations with the United States were for Britain long after the break between the countries had occurred, and presumably after adjustments would have been made. The colonies and Great Britain were economically interdependent in 1775.

In Boucher's opinion a conclusive action against Washington, the occupation of New York with 10,000 men, and the separation of the northern from the southern colonies would bring the colonists to their senses. The parson had little respect for the strength of the middle colonies, and felt that it would be enough for them to be "equal to their own internal enemies."⁵⁵ He adds that the Indians were not dependable allies for the British government since, "They resemble the Elephants in the Armies of old: They may, it is true, exceedingly annoy your Enemy, but you have no Security that, even in the Moment of Victory, they will not turn on yourselves." Boucher's dislikes were apparently not all British and Tory in origin.

The American Revolution ended, much to the disgust of Boucher, in the triumph of the rebels and to a certain degree, of rebel principles. Boucher surveyed the results of this triumph in 1797 in the preface to his *Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution* and discovered a three-fold legacy: to the United States, to Britain and to the world. The former colonist felt that the United States had an opportunity to grow and to prosper if the Federalist ascendancy of the 1790's was maintained. He blandly praised the men who drew up the Constitution ("They probably did as much as they could"),⁵⁷ and he exhorted the American citizenry to follow it. Although he could not conscientiously commend the American form of government, yet since it had been erected it should be supported. Writing to an American audience, Boucher felt that he could present no better argument for the Constitution than by assuring this citizenry that were their government "even worse than I think it, yet it is better for you than a much better government which cannot be obtained without a civil commotion."⁵⁸ But the hope is conditional, for the patriots and the patriot principles which served as the justification for revolt against Britain are not soon or easily forgotten and "want but an adequate temptation and a convenient oppor-

⁵⁵ Boucher to Knox, *loc. cit.*, p. 251.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 252-253.

⁵⁷ Jonathan Boucher, *Causes and Consequences*, xlv.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, lxxi-lxxii.

tunity"⁵⁹ to be themselves used against the foundling government of the new republic.

For the British in 1797, Boucher considered the American rebellion to have a particular poignancy. The facinorous French Revolution was the "gigantic offspring of the American," and Boucher was "overawed by the enormity of its guilt, and the immensity of the danger with which it threatens the world."⁶⁰ If the British had in 1783 pursued vigorously, at the cost of an additional twenty millions in national debt, the suppression of the American revolt, the French Revolution, and the one hundred million by which it had increased the debt in 1797 would never have occurred.⁶¹ Such was Boucher's vision of historical cause and effect.

Finally, Boucher warns America to take care that she would not be burned by the French conflagration. The eruption of Vesuvius, although it desolated the surrounding Italian countryside, was also known to have sent ashes as far as Constantinople. "The United States of America, though apparently far removed from the immediate scenes of the revolution in France is by no means out of the reach of its effects."⁶² The thought might have crossed Boucher's mind that such effects would not be the first example in history of a child's ingratitude to its parents.

Jonathan Boucher remained convinced of the soundness of his beliefs throughout the rest of his life. He served the Church of England as vicar of Empson during his final nineteen years of life, and when not concerned with religious duties, he devoted himself to his family and to his philological enquiries.⁶³ In the preface to his *Causes and Consequences* he suggests probably more clearly than anywhere else, his own world view, and thus it is as useful as any summary of Boucher's loyalism:

. . . mankind continue to be what they always have been They still are jealous of power, still fond of change, and still easily persuaded to believe that they are not so well governed as they ought to be. These are the standing characteristics of mankind

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, xliii.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, xliii.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, ix-x.

⁶² *Ibid.*, lxvi.

⁶³ Boucher, *Reminiscences*, pp. 199-201.

verified by almost every page of every history. Availing themselves of these propensities, ambitious and factious men have always found it easy . . . to mislead multitudes (wiser, it may be and better than themselves) to throw away real and substantial happiness in order of obtaining that which, after all, is but imaginary.⁶⁴

Boucher could readily conceive the weakness of man, but he was unable to grasp the potential for greatness in man. Perhaps this shortcoming, not the American Revolution, was the source of his disquietude and his misfortune.

⁶⁴ Boucher, *Causes and Consequences*, xxvi-xxvii.



HENRY CLAY METTAM

circa 1860

CIVIL WAR MEMOIRS OF THE FIRST MARYLAND CAVALRY, C. S. A.

By HENRY CLAY METTAM

Edited by SAMUEL H. MILLER

HENRY CLAY METTAM was born in 1844 and lived a long and full life before his death in 1929. Of all the experiences of his life, perhaps none remained so vivid as his days as a cavalryman in the First Maryland under the star crossed banner of the Confederacy. Almost fifty years after the close of his military career he wrote this account of his adventures. Although scholars will find here no new and heretofore unknown facts, still here is a private's recollections ably recapturing those bygone days.

The Mettams were of English descent. His father, the Reverend Joseph Mettam, was born in Mount Sorrel, England, in 1805 and with his wife, Ruth Barker Mettam, came to Norfolk, Virginia, in 1832. A short time later, he came to Baltimore, Maryland, where he was licensed to preach. His preaching took him to Pikesville where an accident changed his life.

Badly injured by a fall from his horse, he was nursed back to health by some ladies who conducted a girl's school. Recovered, he was asked to conduct services and soon a congregation gathered about him and selected him as their pastor. Doctor James Smith donated a half acre of land for a church and other community minded people gave time, material and money. By February of 1835 the church was ready for the congregation and its leader. Ordained as a Baptist minister on June 29, 1836, the Reverend Mr. Mettam continued to hold services in the Mettam Memorial Church until his death in 1888.¹ The church still stands although regular services are no longer held there.

¹ Information from an undated news clipping from an unidentified newspaper in the Maryland Vertical File at the Enoch Pratt Library.

The pastor and his wife were blessed with ten children of whom Henry Clay was their seventh. Henry Mettam was seventeen going on eighteen when he left Pikesville to fight for the South in 1862. The route he followed through southern Maryland and over into Virginia was, apparently, well established as an underground road into the Confederacy. After a time young Henry enlisted in a company of cavalry being raised by Captain William Raisin which became company E of the 1st Maryland Cavalry. During the next few years he experienced battle, illness, hardship, capture, imprisonment, foiled escape and finally the bitterness of defeat; a defeat that touched lightly, however, upon the young man's shoulders.

For many years after the war, Henry Mettam was employed by Towner and Landstreet, a firm headed by one of his army comrades, Edward Landstreet. In the 1870's he married Anna Marie Bartley of Philadelphia and of their marriage came eight children, seven daughters and a son. Mrs. Annette Mettam Burleigh, one of those daughters, preserved the memoirs of her father written in 1912 and has made them available to the Maryland Historical Society.

In editing Mr. Mettam's work only such changes have been made as were deemed necessary to a clear understanding of his text. Indeed, his story swings along with such youthful vigor that to alter it would impede rather than improve his style.

Along with my thanks to Mrs. Burleigh for making the manuscript available and for providing me with all other information used pertaining to the Mettam family, must go my thanks to C. A. Porter Hopkins, of the Maryland Historical Society, who has generously provided information for the footnotes on the Maryland scene and who has guided Henry Mettam's story to these pages.

CIVIL WAR MEMOIRS

1ST MARYLAND CAVALRY, C.S.A.

By HENRY C. METTAM

In the month of September, 1862, I left my home in Pikesville, Maryland, one morning about four o'clock, on my brother Sam's¹ black mare, "Bess," and started for the Confederacy. My friend, Tom Watts, had arranged to go with me, but found he had gone on alone; so I hurried on to Baltimore and found him at E. Lloyd Rogers' house on Lafayette avenue and McCulloh street. After spending some time with Mr. Rogers and getting instructions how to make our way down through Southern Maryland into Virginia, he gave us letters to several of his friends, along the route, and also a map of the route; we then left him and started on our journey. When we arrived at what was then called, Winans Long Bridge,² crossing over to Anne Arundel County, we had to pay toll, so when the toll gate keeper came I paid him for the round trip, to throw him off his guard, we then came to the other end of the bridge looking into Anne Arundel County, and just ahead of us, we saw a horse and buggy with a couple of gentlemen in it, and two soldiers searching the buggy, so it looked a little squally, as just near the bridge was a tent pitched and several soldiers on hand; so my friend, Tom Watts, said "Let us go back, for if they search us, we will go to Fort McHenry," but I said "No, I am going through to Dixie, or Fort McHenry. I don't propose to turn back," so I said to Tom, "You let me do the talking, you keep quiet if you are afraid," so when we reached the soldiers I bade them, "Good morning, gentlemen," as pleasantly as possible, and told them we were going over to spend the day with some of our friends in Anne

¹ Samuel Barker Mettam, born in Chesterfield, England, 1826, came to this country with his parents in 1832. During May of 1861 he was a lieutenant of the Garrison Fork Rangers. He does not seem to have served on either side during the war. In 1870 he was a Justice of the Peace at Pikesville. Samuel Mettam died in Baltimore in 1903. Enoch Pratt Library, Maryland Room, Biographical File; The Sun Files for week ending May 13, 1861; and information furnished by Mrs. Annette Burleigh.

² Winans Long Bridge was a privately operated toll bridge running from near Winans Beach at Ferry Bar across the Patapsco River to the Brooklyn section of Anne Arundel county. Later it was jointly operated by the city and Anne Arundel County until Baltimore City gained absolute control of the property in 1888. Today the Hanover Street Bridge stands about where Winans Long Bridge stood in 1861. Information provided by the Enoch Pratt Library, Maryland Room, from data in their files.

Arundel County, and they let us pass; when we had gotten only a few paces from them, my friend Tom says, "Let's get," but I said, "No, keep quiet, if we started on a run now they would suspicion us, and soon be on to us." So we jogged along until entirely out of sight and then let our steeds out for a good run, and we at last, about sun down, came in sight of Annapolis Junction. The road we were on led directly under the bridge, and on top of which were several soldiers on guard, or picket duty, so we turned to the right, through a clump of trees, and soon were at the barn yard of Mr. Williamson, and he was in the yard looking after his stock for the night, and I informed him that we were on our way to see Mr. Hopkins, (nephew of the late Johns Hopkins); he told us to keep the road running under the railroad bridge, and it would take us to the house.

I then said, "We see some soldiers on the bridge, and they might ask us unnecessary questions, &c." and then he said, "All right, go right through my fields, and if your horses cannot jump the fences, take them down, and you need not bother to put them up; there is Mr. Hopkins' house, right over on the hill." I thanked him and made our way as suggested to Mr. Hopkins', and upon our arrival I presented my letter from Mr. Rogers, and received a most cordial welcome and remained there over night, being well taken care of both ourselves and horses.

The next morning after a good breakfast we started on our journey, and Mr. Hopkins went with us as far as Mr. Shippard's, and then Mr. Shippard took us to a Mr. Baird, and took dinner there, and while there I wrote a few lines home to my mother and father, and asked the daughter, (and quite pretty by the way) if she would attend to having the letter mailed, and she said she would with pleasure; and just here, transgressing—when I returned home in May, 1865, they told me about my letter being sent by Miss Baird, and a letter from her explaining how she was out riding a few days later, having sent one of the colored men to the post office with my letter to mail, that she saw something like a torn letter on the ground, and when she dismounted from her horse, she found upon picking it up, that it was the letter I had written home, and was torn in several parts, and she took them home, wrote to my mother and enclosed the letter, speaking of me in very nice terms, and thought how sad it was for one so young as I to go away from home to join the army of the South; her father started a correspondence with my folks that kept up for a long time. And when I returned home, and heard all this, I sat down and wrote to her,

and when the reply came, she informed me that she was married (what a pity).

Well, I must return to my journey southward after transgressing to love making.

After bidding good bye to Mr. and Mrs. Baird and Miss Lilly Baird, we went on our way piloted by Mr. Shippard, who left us at a certain point to make our way to a Mr. Bouldin, to whom we had a letter of introduction from our friend, Mr. Lloyd Rogers. So after riding until about five o'clock, we came to the beautiful residence of Mr. Bouldin, riding up a wide avenue with large trees each side we came to a large colonial house, and after ringing the door bell which was answered by a servant, I asked for Mr. Bouldin and just then Mrs. Bouldin (the mother) came down, and told me her son was away but would soon return and cordially invited me in, but as I explained to her I was not acquainted with her son, only had a letter to him, she insisted on our coming in and refreshing ourselves with a glass of wine and cake, which we did, sitting down in the spacious hall, and we then told her we would go on, and perhaps meet her son. So after leaving there, I said to Tom, I guess we may take our sleep in the woods if we do not meet Bouldin, but just then I spied a buggy and pair coming dashing up the road, with a young man driving, and a little coon at his side, and as he approached I held up my hand, and he stopped; I said, "Is this Mr. Bouldin?"; he said, "Yes,"; I told him my name was Mettam from Baltimore and had a letter from E. Lloyd Rogers. "All right," he said "Follow me." We wheeled our horses around and went back home with him. And when he reached the front porch, he called Tom, Dick, Harry, &c., and soon there were several coons ready to take our horses, and he gave them strict orders as to their care. Going into the house, he took us in his library, and rang for servants, and two young coons, by his instructions, took us up to a fine bed room, took off our riding boots and stockings, bathed our feet, then we took a wash off and came down ready for a fine supper, and when we were ushered into the dining room, we were seated among some dozen ladies and gentlemen, all introduced, and had a gorgeous supper; after that we spent the evening in his library, smoking and playing chess until bedtime, and were put to bed in fine style, and had a good night's rest, which we needed. We got up in good time next morning and ready to start again after breakfast, though we were urged to spend a few days with them.

We started again on our way to "Dixie" and after many adventures we arrived at Mr. Mark B. Chun's house near Chaptico, St.

Mary's County—an old friend of my father's. We spent a few days there with him and then went to Leonardtown with him to find out how to get across the Potomac. Mr. Chun introduced us to Mr. Moore, proprietor of the hotel in Leonardtown, and he informed us that there was a party of some 25 or 30 stopping at the hotel, and were waiting on a certain vessel to take them across. So we soon all got acquainted and made our arrangements to go with them, we paying a certain amount for our passage. The next day we were told by Mr. Moore to get ourselves ready, so that when the dinner bell rang, for us to leave any baggage we wanted taken down to the wharf on the desk in the office. Here I must go back and say that when I left home I had on two suits of heavy underwear, and two top shirts, a new suit of heavy, warm gray and a heavy overcoat, and all of my pockets filled with stockings, collars, cuffs and handkerchiefs, &c, &c. So when I was told to leave my baggage at the office desk, I slipped out, purchased a grip, went up stairs at the hotel, stripped myself of the surplus clothing, filled the grip and then deposited it on the hotel desk.

We all went into dinner, and when we came out I found everything ready for the march to Goff's Wharf, a landing on Brittons^{*} Bay upon which Leonardtown is situated.

I soon found out that a party of some thirty in number would go, and that the schooner's hold was loaded with contraband goods for the Confederacy.

You can imagine a party of thirty men walking out of Moore's Hotel, Leonardtown, Maryland, just after a noon dinner, and marching down to the wharf, with a sympathetic friend on horseback to lead us, and when we had nearly reached the wharf, he being mounted could see farther ahead and beckoned for us to lie down, and upon investigation he found that a United States Revenue Cutter was at the wharf getting provisions. They finally pulled out and we went on, and all got aboard our schooner. As I stated before, the hold of the schooner was loaded with pine cord wood, leaving the two holds open, fore and aft, so that in case we were boarded we could reach the deck quickly and defend ourselves. About four o'clock in the afternoon the captain took his little skiff and went up to Leonardtown to get some provisions for supper, and we calculated on sailing out the bay that night, but as the sun went down we were still at anchor and no captain, and we all began to get a little uneasy fearing that he may have been caught, and we might at any moment expect to be boarded by a

^{*} Brittons Bay is shown as Breton Bay on the 1960 Map of Maryland prepared by the Maryland State Roads Commission.

revenue cutter, but about nine o'clock the captain came, with cheese, crackers, &c., and we all had a share. Unfortunately the wind did not arrive, and we were compelled to lie in the hold of the schooner that night and all the next day, waiting for wind and tide. About nine o'clock the following night we got a stiff breeze and started on our journey, and we were soon standing off the banks of the Virginia side of the Potomac river at Chantilla Bluffs (Westmoreland county).⁴

As the parties owning the goods had the prior right, having chartered the vessel, to get their goods off first (we having paid them our passage only), we had to wait until the small boats took the goods ashore, and in the meantime my friend, Tom Watts and I had made the acquaintance of five of the party, and we had agreed to stick together until we reached Richmond, Virginia. So we all finally landed on old Virginia's shore and we seven started on the tramp. After a few miles we came to a small house with barn, garden, &c., and after a time aroused the man of the house and requested a place to sleep, so he took us to his barn loft and we slept the balance of the night on some bags of grain. The next morning we were all up bright and early and went to the house for breakfast, which consisted of fried guinea-keet, potatoes, corn bread and rye coffee, not from Rio de Janeiro, South America, but the rye grain raised in the fields of Virginia. But it all tasted good and all of us well pleased, and when we went to settle he said 25 cents each would do and we were all pleased.

We then made inquiries about some kind of a vehicle to carry us along on our journey, and he suggested a party who had a horse and wagon, so we went our way and soon were in a wagon without springs and we all went jogging along. He carried us as far as Montrose⁵ and another to Bayesville, and another to Potomac Mills. Opposite Laytons Ferry on the Rappahannock river, and after signalling for some time, old Captain Armstrong came across for us in a row boat, and when we seven got aboard with Captain Armstrong making eight, and our baggage, she had about all she could carry, and at times it looked as though we might have to swim, as the river was quite wide and deep, but we all landed safely, and very thankful. We were taken up to the house and all

⁴ Chantilla Bluffs undoubtedly refers to Chantilly, once the home of Richard Henry Lee (1732-94). Not far from Stratford Hall, the birthplace of Robert E. Lee, it is fitting that Mettam should have landed in Virginia on ground intimately associated with the Lees. In part from *Virginia, A Guide to the Old Dominion*, (New York, 1940), pp. 546-547.

⁵ Montrose refers to Montross, county seat of Westmoreland County since 1673. *Ibid.* page 547.

had the opportunity to get washed and dust off our clothes, when we were ushered into the dining room and sat down to a fine, hot meal (the first since leaving Moore's Hotel), and we all did ample justice to it.

After supper we sat around, smoked and chatted, and when bedtime came we were all ushered into a large room with three beds in it, and one or two had thrown themselves on the floor with a chair turned over, and when I awoke in the morning I found myself alone in a large double bed, and two still asleep on the floor.

After a good breakfast Captain Armstrong had his team brought to the door, consisting of a regular farm wagon without any top, and seven large cane seat chairs for us to sit on, a pair of mules and driver, and after getting under way we had a very pleasant ride to Bowling Green, where we stopped for a mid-day meal. The house was kept by two maiden ladies, and they kept a register in which we all wrote our names, and looking through it I saw several names I knew, one in particular was Miss Hetty Cary⁶ of Baltimore. She had run the blockade several times and I will speak of her again later.

After a good lunch we started for Milford Station (Caroline county) on the Richmond and Fredericksburg Railroad, and found, to our great disappointment, that we could not get a train until early the next morning for Richmond. So after supper we smoked and soon went to our rooms, leaving word to be called in ample time to catch the first train for Richmond. We finally went to bed and to sleep, but as the hotel was located directly alongside the railroad tracks, and as we had a front room, we were up several times during the night when a freight train or special went along.

After a restless night, jumping up to look out of the window every time a freight or special came along, we at last got up about daylight and were ready for breakfast, and then we at last took a train for Richmond. While the distance was only about forty miles, it took us until towards evening to get there, as the war was well under way and trains were subject to all kinds of delays, such as side-tracking for specials carrying troops and munitions of war.

When we arrived in Richmond there was quite a crowd on Broad Street, where the trains stopped, as apparently there was no depot, and we were all given a hearty welcome. Tom and I were as strangers in a strange land, but only for a short time, as we soon made

⁶ Hetty Cary, along with her sister, Jennie, introduced *Maryland My Maryland*. She married General John Pegram, CSA, shortly before he was killed in action. After the war she taught school in Baltimore. In 1879 she married H. Newell Martin: *The Sun*, July 17, 1949.

acquaintances and friends, and were soon located in a comfortable boarding house.

I spent several weeks in Richmond having many letters to deliver from friends for whom I had carried them through the lines, and letters from my father to friends of his. I also called on Mr. A. C. Landstreet (father of Edward Landstreet of the Baltimore firm of Towner and Landstreet)⁷ who had a position in one of the War Departments in Richmond, who, by the way, was a member of the great "Black Horse Cavalry," C. S. A., that played such a prominent part in the first battle of Bull Run, which occurred in July, 1861, when the Yankees were completely routed, and I have heard that some of the Northern soldiers were so terribly frightened and unnerved that they threw away their guns and ran into a field among a lot of negroes, and made the negroes strip and change clothes with them.

To go back to Richmond, having transgressed, when I called on Mr. A. C. Landstreet he was glad to see me and gave me a hearty welcome, and informed me that Ned, his son, was in the First Virginia Cavalry (by the way, Mr. Landstreet at one time lived in the Green Spring Valley, and his boys and I went to school together; he owned the farm now owned by Mr. Samuel Shoemaker; Mr. Landstreet sold it in 1857 and purchased a farm in Fairfax county, Virginia, and moved his family there).

One day I was walking around Richmond and was picked up by a provost guard and taken to headquarters and had to give an account of myself, they thinking I might be a deserter or spy. So I told them my little story and also told them I thought it very bad treatment to one who had run the risk I had to come down and help them, so I finally requested them to have a guard sent with me to my friend Landstreet, and he came and explained matters to the captain of the guard and all was settled.

A few days after this I made the acquaintance of a young man from Waynesboro, Augusta county, Virginia, and we talked over matters generally, and he informed me that he was a member of Company E, First Virginia Cavalry, the same regiment to which Ned Landstreet belonged, so my friend wished me to join with him, and he finally invited me to go with him to his home, which I did, spending some two weeks with his father, mother, brothers and sisters on one of the largest and finest farms in Augusta county,

⁷ Towner and Landstreet and Company (Edward Landstreet) manufacturers, agents, and importers, rubber goods and cotton and woollen supplies, 217-219 W. Baltimore Street; *Baltimore City Directory*, 1880. It will be remembered that Mettam worked for this company after the war.

and later he furnished me with a horse and we together went to his regiment, then at Fredericksburg, at which place the great battle of Fredericksburg was fought December 12-13, 1862. After locating his regiment and making the acquaintance of many of them, also meeting Ned Landstreet, I began to feel like a soldier, and when our artillery, which lined the hills opposite where Burnside and his great army had planned to march on to Richmond, and as they threw their pontoon bridges across the Rappahannock river to the left of Fredericksburg and the Union soldiers crossed and formed in platoons and started to charge, our artillery opened with such terrific fire that thousands were killed at the first volley. They would form again and come on with the same results, and this was kept up several days and sometimes into the night.

In the rear of these hills were our cavalry and infantry, resting on their arms, ready at a moment's warning to go to the front, but our artillery seemed to be all that was necessary, and after about four days Burnside concluded that he had not taken the right road to Richmond.

During this cannonading on both sides I was riding in an open field just in the rear of our army when a shell came over my head and struck in the earth about three feet ahead of me, but fortunately it did not explode, or neither horse nor rider would have lived to tell anything more.

I at last thought I would run down to Richmond and see if there were any of the Maryland boys who could put me on the track of the First Maryland Cavalry, as I thought best to attach myself to a Maryland regiment, although there were many Maryland boys scattered through Virginia regiments, both cavalry, infantry and artillery. So when I arrived in Richmond I found upon inquiry that Captain William I. Rasin⁸ was organizing a company at "Camp Lee," just out from Richmond on the line of the Richmond & Fredericksburg Railroad, so I took the little "dummy" on Broad street and soon landed at "Camp Lee," where I found

⁸ William I. Rasin (7/4/1841-6/18/1916) was born in Kent County, Maryland, the son of Macall Medford Rasin and Margaret Ann Boyer Rasin. At the death of his father he moved to St. Louis. In 1861 Rasin served briefly in the army under Sterling Price in Missouri. Returning to Maryland, he was arrested as a spy and sentenced to Fort Warren. Escaping he went to Virginia and organized Company E of the 1st Maryland Cavalry Battalion which he led through the rest of the war. After Appomattox he made his way to Johnston's army in North Carolina, where he surrendered. For many years he was a commission merchant in Baltimore and later a cashier in the Internal Revenue Department. He died at Newport News. *Confederate Military History*, Clement Evans, editor (Atlanta, 1899), II, pp. 382-383 (Cited hereafter as *CMH*) and the *Confederate Veteran Magazine*, XXIV (1916), p. 466.

several old friends, Powell Cockey (son of John Robert Cockey of Worthington's Valley), Edwin R. Rich⁹ (brother of the Reverend Doctor Rich, formerly of Hannah More Academy, Reisterstown, Maryland), John Slingluff, Skinner Quinn, and after a little talk concluded this was the place for me. So inside of twenty four hours I was weighed, measured and enlisted in Company E, C.S.A., later on to be attached to the First Maryland Cavalry, Lt.-Col. Ridgely Brown.

So now I begin with a soldier's life and fortune. This was January, 1863, and we continued here until some time in March, drilling on foot, awaiting our horses, which were being brought from North Carolina by an agent sent by Captain Rasin, we to pay to the Captain so much per month until our horse was paid for.

The horses came at last, and after getting our complete outfit we started for the Valley of Virginia, reaching our destination in due time and making our camp at Lacy Springs near Harrisonburg, Virginia, where we spent time getting ready for orders. Finally on Thursday, April 22, 1863, orders were issued to saddle up and we were all ready in short order to go and follow our Colonel Brown¹⁰ wherever he would command us. So off we go, not knowing where, but willing and satisfied to do our duty.

Our battalion of five companies were attached to General W. E. Jones' brigade¹¹ and we started on the march to West Virginia. For about a week after we started we had rain, and when finally,

⁹ Edwin R. Rich: Edward R. Rich (1841-1916) recorded his experiences in *Comrades Four* (New York, 1907). At the time of publication he was Dean of Trinity Cathedral in Easton, Maryland. Dielman File, Maryland Historical Society (cited hereafter as Dielman) and *Comrades Four*.

¹⁰ Lieutenant Colonel Ridgely Brown (C1833-6/1/1864) was born in Montgomery County, Maryland. He entered Virginia June 1st, 1861, and soon became a lieutenant in company K, 1st Virginia Cavalry. When the 1st Maryland Cavalry was organized at Winchester on November 25th, 1862, Brown was named its major. At Greenland Gap he was wounded in the leg but continued to ride for 168 miles before seeking aid. On June 1, 1864, three years to the day that he had entered Virginia, he was killed in action on the South Anna River, *CMH*, II, p. 217.

¹¹ General W. E. Jones' brigade; during this raid against the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and Oiltown, April 21st to May 21st 1863, consisted of the following troops less detachments: 1st Maryland Cavalry Battalion, Major Ridgely Brown; 6th Virginia Cavalry, Colonel John Shac Green; 7th Virginia Cavalry, Lt. Colonel Thomas Marshall; 11th Virginia Cavalry, Colonel Lunsford Lomax; 12th Virginia Cavalry, Colonel W. W. Harmon; 34th Virginia Cavalry Battalion, Lt. Colonel V. A. Witcher; and the 35th Virginia Cavalry Battalion, Lt. Colonel Elijah V. White. Captain John H. McNeill's partisan ranger company also rode with the brigade: *War of the Rebellion, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, (Washington, 1881-1901) series 1, Volume 35, part 1, p. 794 (cited hereafter as *OR*). The reports of this raid will be found *ibid* pp. 113-145.

as we were coming down the mountainside, the sun came out, we overlooked the beautiful Moorefield Valley, with hay stacks as plentiful as hay cocks in ordinary fields. We passed through the little town of Moorefield and down through the valley to Mr. Van Meter's farm where we were treated to plenty to eat of corn cakes and honey, and our horses to the first yellow corn on the cob since we left Richmond. After all being satisfied we started for Greenland Gap, Hampshire County, West Virginia, at which point we arrived and found that Mulligan's 100¹² had entrenched themselves in a large log house commanding the road in both directions. We were compelled to pass that house or turn back. Company E was in the advance, and cautiously we dismounted and crept through the underbrush and fallen trees, avoiding the road as much as possible, until about thirty feet of the stream we made a dash through towards the fort. For it was indeed a fort, and from its windows and pierced sides fully one hundred rifles poured deadly fire upon our little band. Several fell midway of the stream. Among them was one young fellow who had left his home in Southern Maryland against his father's consent, and his father said, in the presence of some of his friends, that he hoped he would be killed in the first battle, and sure enough he was killed in this, his first and last charge. The One Hundred Irish were full of pluck, and when we demanded them to surrender they said, Never. So we finally told them if they did they would be treated as prisoners of war, but if not they would be burnt out. So we laid our plans accordingly, and some half dozen or more of our men stealthily got to the rear, and then our commanding officer (Ned Johnson, Sergeant-Major), in a stentorian voice called on the inmates to surrender. A howl greeted us, and the words, NEVER, NEVER, fell upon our ears. Meanwhile our men surrounded the house to prevent escape, and reinforcements having made their way across the stream, we proceeded to batter down the doors. There were no windows on the first floor, but from the second story the men hurled rocks and pieces of iron upon us, and although these windows were closely watched, occasional shots were fired with deadly effect upon the attacking party.

¹² Mulligan's 100 was a command of Irishmen raised in Chicago by James Adelbert Mulligan who became their colonel. Mulligan, born in Utica, New York, June 25, 1830; was wounded and died soon after the battle of Winchester, July 26, 1864. He refused a general's stars to stay with his men. His regiment was the 23rd Regiment Illinois Infantry, also styled Mulligan's Brigade or Irish Brigade or the 1st Irish Regiment, *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, (New York, 1915), IV, 458. *Personnel of the Civil War*, edited by William Amann, *The Union Armies*, (New York, 1961), II, 92.

It was now well into the night, and the resolute Irishmen who essayed to shoot from the windows could be seen only by the light of their own firearms, but the flash was no sooner seen than it was answered from without, and several of the brave fellows fell back into the dark room, mortally wounded.

The doors, made of the heaviest oak boards and guided by strong iron bars, resisted all our efforts, and a hurried consultation was held, which resulted in the determination to "burn them out."

A lot of dry wood, lying near, was gathered, and once more the brave defenders of the fort were called upon to surrender or the house would be fired. "Burn and be d—d," was the answer.

Immediately the match was applied to one corner of the house and the flames soon rose, and the smoke curling up was driven into one of the windows and a voice called out, "We'll surrender if you will spare our lives." "All right," cried the Captain, "Come out one by one and you will not be harmed."

The wood was torn away, enough left burning to make everything light as day, and opening the door, out they came, some ninety of them, and a brave, sturdy set of fellows they were. They were speedily disarmed and sent to the rear. The dead, five in number, were brought out and buried near our own fallen comrades, and then we had to arrange about the disposition of the prisoners. So a detail was made up of ten of our men to take them back into our lines and turn them over to the prison authorities, and among the ten was your humble servant, much to my disappointment, but orders in war times could not but be obeyed, and while the command went on to accomplish the task before them, we went back to Harrisonburg, Virginia, with our ninety prisoners, and as we had no commissary wagon along, we had to do the best we could through a rough country to get something to eat, but we finally reached our destination, and after disposing of our burden, we took a rest at "Bridgewater," near Harrisonburg. We had not been there very long when I was taken sick and called on Doctor McKnew,¹³ our regimental surgeon, and after giving me some medicine he told me to get to my bunk for a while. In a few days he called to see me and found I had typhoid fever. He ordered me taken to the hospital at Harrisonburg, Virginia, and an old farmer came with his carriage and much against my will soon landed me in the hospital, but it turned out to be for the best.

¹³ Wilberforce Richmond McKnew (9/28/1839—5/31/1904) entered the Confederate service in 1862 as assistant surgeon in the 1st Maryland Cavalry. Taken prisoner at Greenland Gap, he was held for a month at Fort Norfolk. *C.M.H.*, VII, 350-361 and Dielman File, Md. Hist. Soc.

After a bath, my hair cut short and put to bed I could not remember anything for weeks, and during my stay there I was at times very near passing over the river, and from May until July just after the battle of Gettysburg, was I able to walk alone. I had every care and attention from my good old nurse, a Mr. Chambliss, from Georgia, who was unfit for military service, so was sent as a nurse in the hospital, and a good and faithful one he was to me, and in September that year when the Yankees came up the Valley, I was sent in the coach to Staunton, and the dear old man and I had a good cry at parting.

I did not recover my strength very rapidly, and when I spoke to the doctors about going back to my regiment, they would not listen to it, and spoke as though I would not be fit for service again; but finally, a day or two before Christmas, I told them I could not stand it any longer, and I would sooner die in the field than in the hospital. So, after a good breakfast, I packed up what little I had, and with my haversack full of good things from two of the matrons at the hospital, such as chicken, biscuits and cakes, I took the train for camp at Hanover junction, and the boys all gave me a hearty welcome, and I gave them the good things to eat that I had brought.

I found the camp as winter quarters at Hanover Junction, where the First Maryland Cavalry, Second Maryland Infantry, First Maryland Battery of Artillery, Second Maryland Battery (Baltimore Light) and Chesapeake Battery [constituted the Maryland Line].¹⁴

The duty assigned us was protecting that depot, and the bridges over the North and South Anna rivers, which in that neighborhood unite and form the Pamunkey. This post being on the direct line over which General Lee drew his supplies and maintained his communication with Richmond, and the service we rendered during this winter was of great value.

From our camp at Hanover Junction a detail was made about every ten days to go down to Dabney Ferry on the Pamunkey and

¹⁴ The Maryland Line consisted of the following units when organized in 1863: 1st Maryland Cavalry, Lt. Colonel Ridgely Brown, organized 5/15/62; 2nd Maryland Infantry, Captain J. Parran Crane, (Lt. Colonel James R. Herbert and Major W. W. Goldsborough both still absent from wounds received at Gettysburg) organized 9/28/62; 1st Maryland Battery (Maryland Battery), Captain William F. Dement, organized 7/10/61; 2nd Maryland Battery, (Baltimore Light), Captain William H. Griffin, organized in fall of 1861; 4th Maryland Battery, (Chesapeake Battery), Captain Walter S. Chew, organized early in 1861. These units were collected to form the Maryland Line under Special Order No. 269, dated October 31, 1863, and assigned to the command of Colonel Bradley T. Johnson. This was in line with the government's policy of brigading state troops together, *OR* 1, 33, p. 1090. For organizational dates see Harold R. Manakee, *Maryland in the Civil War*, (Baltimore, 1961).

spend the time watching and guarding against surprises from the enemy, who were constantly making cavalry raids through the peninsula, such as Dahlgren and Kilpatrick expeditions. We would generally take ten days' rations with us, but were so fortunate as to have made the acquaintance of Widow Munday, who had a large farm across the river, and she sent us a good dinner over each day and we all enjoyed it.

While we were at camp that winter we had some good times as well as rough ones. Our mess was composed of Powell Cockey, Ned Rich, Skinner Quinn, John Slingluff and your humble servant (H. C. Mettam), and we all got along nicely, each taking his share of the work. Our quarters was a log hut, built about 10 by 15 feet, and with bunks for sleeping, good big open fireplace with plenty of chimney, and with cooking utensils such as pots, kettle and spider we could get up a pretty good meal, and on Christmas Day we thought we would try our hands, so we waited until several of our neighbors had finished with their cooking utensils and we then borrowed them, one with roast pork and sweet potatoes, one corn pone, one with oyster pot-pie, another biscuits, one mashed potatoes and turnips, pot of coffee, etc., and I assure you we all had a good, full meal and some left over; so we concluded to end with a smoker and then rolled into our bunks for a snooze, thinking we would eat the leavings for supper, but when we woke found some one or more had been in ahead of us and had eaten all up.

May 1864

On the 9th of May, 1864, Major-General Phil Sheridan passed by the right flank of the Army of Northern Virginia. Colonel Johnson¹⁵ was absent from the headquarters of the Maryland Line at the Junction, on a scout down the peninsula, leaving Colonel Brown in command. In the afternoon Colonel Brown had information of the Federal movement and proceeded promptly to put himself in front of it, and before Richmond, with one hundred and fifty sabres. He came in contact with the enemy at about

¹⁵ Bradley Tyler Johnson (9/29/1829—10/5/1903) born in Frederick, Maryland, he graduated from Princeton in 1849 and entered the bar in 1851. He helped organize the 1st Maryland Infantry and served as its major and later as its colonel. Because Maryland was not a part of the Confederacy, Johnson was looked upon as a foreigner and his commission as general did not come until June of 1864 when he was assigned General W. E. Jones' brigade. Later when certain brigades were consolidated, his brigade was broken up and Johnson served the rest of the war in the Confederate Prison system in North Carolina. After the war he served in the Virginia Senate for many years before returning to Maryland in 1879. He lies buried in Loudon Park Confederate Plot among his comrades. Ezra J. Warner, *Generals In Gray* (Baton Rouge, 1959), pp. 156-7.

eleven o'clock at night about a mile from Beaver Dam Station, on the Virginia Central Railroad (now the Chesapeake & Ohio).

The enemy was tearing up and destroying the railroad ties. Colonel Brown dismounted his command, about ninety men, the rest left as horse holders and reserve. He himself got up close to them and saw their positions. Returning to his command he attacked and moved forward, driving in pickets and skirmishers sent out to stop him. He pressed them back on the line of Sheridan's command formed to receive him.

Thirteen thousand to one hundred and fifty was odds and Colonel Brown was obliged to decline such odds, and we withdrew.

The next morning Colonel Brown received a dispatch from General J. E. B. Stuart¹⁶ to attack and delay them until he could get up, and we stood up against this overwhelming force all the day and until nightfall, when General Stuart and Fitzhugh Lee, with their commands, came, and as we had cut trees down and barricaded the road, Sheridan was compelled to turn his course somewhat and take the Crowfoot road, and General Stuart was enabled to get to Yellow Tavern ahead of Sheridan, but the fight at Yellow Tavern was the great loss of General Stuart, as he was killed leading a charge.¹⁷

In the latter part of May Lee's army fell back to the line of the North Anna, and Grant, as usual, moved by his right and crossed the Pamunkey at Dabney's Ferry. General Johnson and the cavalry of the Line happened to be near there watching for such a movement. Colonel Baker¹⁸ of North Carolina was there with Gordon's North Carolina Brigade,¹⁹ and attacked the party which had crossed the river and driven off the Confederate pickets.

¹⁶ James Ewell Brown Stuart (2/6/1833—4/12/1864). In 1867 John Esten Cooke wrote, "Stuart was born to fight cavalry. Even dead and crumbled into dust, the form of Stuart still fills the eye, and the tallest dwindle by his side, he seems so great." Say no more. John Esten Cooke, *Wearing of the Gray* (New York, 1867), p. 43.

¹⁷ For a study of Yellow Tavern and the activity leading up to the battle see: Samuel H. Miller, *Civil War History*, "Yellow Tavern," University of Iowa, 1956.

¹⁸ Colonel John A. Baker, 3rd North Carolina Cavalry, arrived with his command from North Carolina before May 27, 1864, when he assumed command of Gordon's brigade from Colonel C. M. Andrews of the 2nd North Carolina. Baker was captured in June and remained a prisoner until he took the oath of allegiance on or about March 3, 1865. *CMH.*, IV 4, p. 261; *OR* 1, p. 1306; *OR* 1, 36, 2, p. 1021; *OR* 1, 52, 2, p. 950; *OR* 2, 7, p. 899; *OR* 2, 8, p. 332.

¹⁹ Gordon's North Carolina Brigade: consisted of the 1st, 2nd and 5th North Carolina Cavalry. The 3rd North Carolina had not yet joined. The 4th North Carolina had been transferred south. With these small regiments General James Byron Gordon (11/2/1822—5/18/1864) had clung to the rear of Sheridan's heavy column until after Yellow Tavern. At Brook Church, the day after Yellow

General Fitz Lee,²⁰ to whom General Johnson was temporarily reporting, directed him to go to the assistance of Baker. After a conference Johnson agreed that if Baker could hold the Federals while he, Johnson, could get at them, they two would capture the whole party.

So Baker kept a brisk skirmish, and Johnson, with the First Maryland Cavalry and Baltimore Light Artillery, moved up a side road to the right.

As our company (E) was in the advance, Captain Rasin ordered me to go ahead at least one hundred yards and keep sharp lookout; the road we were going was narrow with thick woods and swamp to the left and open cornfields to the right with what was called a wattling fence, with posts driven in the ground about every three feet and cedar branches woven like a basket, so you can imagine us destroying such a fence. We had not gone a mile when I saw Baker's pickets coming full tilt, with Custer's men at their heels, pressing us so close that they knocked some of our men off their horses, and hardly giving us time to leave the narrow road and get into the open field, but tearing this wattling fence down we soon formed in line, and as Custer's men came up they had the brush fence to protect them, and the first volley they fired killed General Johnson's horse and shot his sabre clean from his side. By that time a column of Federal cavalry was going by our left flank and into our rear, so we attempted to withdraw decently and in order, and as we found this impossible we were ordered to get out the best we could, and we lost some ten or more killed, wounded or missing. Among the wounded was my old friend and messmate, Ned Rich.

This was always afterwards known in the Maryland Line as the fight at Pollard's Farm, May 27, 1864.

On the first of June following a force of Federal cavalry drove the First Maryland out of Hanover Court House over the Richmond and Fredericksburg Railroad at Wickham's Crossing, back to the Virginia Central Railroad, not far north of Ashland. The bridges on the Virginia Central were very valuable to us, as they gave the only way by rail to the Valley of Virginia. We fought

Tavern, as Stuart lay dying in Richmond, Gordon was mortally wounded encouraging his men to the attack. Miller, *Civil War History*.

²⁰ Fitzhugh Lee (11/19/1835—4/28/1905) a nephew of Robert E. Lee and a graduate of West Point, resigned from the U.S. Army to enter the 1st Virginia Cavalry. At the end of the war he was in command of all the cavalry of the Army of Northern Virginia. At the time of the Spanish American war, he returned to the United States Army as a major general. Lee also served as governor of Virginia: *Generals in Gray*, p. 178.

the enemy from point to point all the way from Wickham's to the Virginia Central bridges, in hopes that reinforcements would be sent us, and thus save the bridges; but as no reinforcements came, at last Colonel Ridgely Brown determined to make an effort, and as he led us in one desperate charge, he was shot through the forehead and died without speaking a word.

He was the bravest, the purest, the gentlest man from Maryland who died for liberty in that four years' war.

Our regiment, under Colonel Johnson, took a conspicuous and useful part in the battle of Trevilian's on January 12th²¹ between the Confederate cavalry, 4500 sabres, under Hampton²² and Rosser,²³ and the Federal cavalry, 13000 sabres, under Sheridan and Custer.²⁴

When Custer, in a dashing charge, rode through a vacant place in Hampton's center, Rosser from the left, with his own brigade and the Maryland Line cavalry, charged Custer's flank, and in turn rode through him, cutting him in two.

Our regiment captured over one hundred horses and men, completely armed and equipped, and my share was a fine pair of new cavalry boots, from one of Custer's lieutenants, what I was badly in need of.

After the engagement at Trevilians, Colonel Johnson obtained permission from General Wade Hampton to undertake a trip into Maryland and Pennsylvania, and in the meantime General Early had been making plans for a similar trip. General Early assigned him to take command of William E. Jones' cavalry brigade,²⁵ Jones

²¹ One of Mettam's few slips in date. Trevilian's was fought on June 12th, 1864.

²² Wade Hampton (3/28/1818-4/11/1902), the Grand Sieugner of South Carolina, was one of the wealthiest men in the South when he entered the Confederate Service. In 1862 he was given a brigade and by the end of the war was a lieutenant general of cavalry. After the war he was governor of his state and a United States senator. *Generals in Gray*, p. 122-123.

²³ Thomas Lafayette Rosser (10/15/1836-3/29/1910) resigned from West Point shortly before graduation in 1861. His gallantry in action attracted him to Jeb Stuart who gave him a regiment and then a brigade. At war's end he was a major general. After the war he served the railroads in the west. In the Spanish American War he became a brigadier general in the U.S. Army, *ibid.*, pp. 264-265.

²⁴ George Armstrong Custer (12/5/1839-6/25/1876) graduated from West Point and rose to be major general of cavalry and justly renowned for his daring. As Colonel of the 7th Cavalry, he took on the entire Sioux Nation and died along with his command, 277 officers and men, on the Little Big Horn, *D.A.B.*, V, 7.

²⁵ William E. Jones' cavalry brigade consisted of the 8th and 21st Virginia cavalry regiments and the 34th, 36th, and 37th Battalions Virginia Cavalry in January of 1864. *OR* 1, 33, p. 1137. However, in October of 1864 Johnson's brigade is shown to have been composed of the 8th and 21st Regiments Virginia Cavalry and the 36th and 37th Battalions with an aggregate present of

having been killed at New Hope Church on Hunter's advance up the valley. The first Maryland Cavalry and the Baltimore Light Artillery were added to the command. In a few days Colonel Johnson received his commission of Brigadier-General. He made Captain George W. Booth²⁶ Assistant Adjutant-General of the brigade. We then started on our trip, as we were in advance, we moved rapidly through Winchester, marching on to Shepherdstown.

At Leetown we found about daylight one morning that the Yanks were near, and our regiment was ordered to dismount and throw out a skirmish line, 4th man holding all the dismounted men's horses.

We had not gone far before we were aware of quite a goodly lot of Yanks near at hand. We soon learned who they were. It was General Mulligan with 3,000 infantry and six gun battery, so it was not long before we were right into it, and from daylight to noon we had it hot and heavy, but finally got the best of him and drove him away. Afterwards some of us went into the piece of woods where Mulligan had camped, and found fire burning and plenty of food of all descriptions, some sheep and hogs, all dressed and hanging up on trees, some of the steaks cut off and in the frying pans; so we all had a little lunch, and I opened one of the knapsacks and found some clean underclothes, which I needed, so proceeding to drop my dirty ones for clean ones.

We then went on to Shepherdstown and pushed on rapidly through Sharpsburg to Boonsboro and thence down the National road towards Frederick, and as we had been riding constantly, day and night, for about three weeks, with only halts to give our horses something to eat, we finally reached the top of the mountain overlooking Frederick City, and General Johnson made his headquarters at Hagan's Tavern. I was at that time suffering with waxen kernel in my groin, and it had become so painful that I had been compelled to be carried from my horse into Hagan's and laid on a lounge. The brigade was below in the Valley of the Monocacy,

652 men. *OR* 1, 43, 2, p. 903. William Edmondston (Grumble) Jones (5/9/1824-6/5/1864) had been killed at the Battle of Piedmont, June 5th, 1864. *Battles and Leaders*, (New York, 1888), John B. Imboden, "The Battle of New Market." IV, pp. 480-486.

²⁶ Captain George W. Booth (7/29/1844-1/6/1914) entered the Confederate Service as 1st Lieutenant of company D, 1st Maryland Infantry. When the regiment disbanded, he was made captain and adjutant of the 1st Maryland Cavalry. When the Maryland Line was formed he was assigned to duty as assistant adjutant general. Later he served on the staff of General Johnson and, when the general was assigned to duty in North Carolina, Booth went with him. Captain Booth recorded his experiences in *Personal Reminiscences of a Maryland Soldier in the War Between the States 1861-1865* (Baltimore, 1898); *C.M.H.* II, pp. 205-208 and Dielman File, Md. Hist. Soc.

and during the day they had some sharp fighting. Finally the word came to get ready to move forward. Captain Rasin of Company E said for me to get ready and go back with the lead horses, as an ambulance was ready to take me. I said, Not today, Captain. I hear we are likely to go to Baltimore, and if so, I am going. So a couple of the boys carried me out and put me on my horse and we started down the mountain, and after trotting along for some distance we all started in a run, and the place in my groin broke and went like a pistol, and the contents ran down my leg into my boots. Well, in this condition, we passed through Frederick, to New Windsor, to Westminster, to Reisterstown, and camped on what is now known as Glyndon, on the Dover road, near to Emory Grove Camp Grounds. As soon as we had camped Powell Cockey came to me and invited me to go with him to his home down the Worthington Valley. So off we went and soon sat at his father's table eating breakfast. He also took me up in his room, and with some mutton-tallow fixed my sore spot. We then returned to camp with a bag of biscuits and ham, and late in the afternoon we started towards Baltimore, passing through St. George and down to Carroll's Caves. It was then sundown and we were all tired, having been on the forward march from Frederick down. I had not been long at the Caves when Brother Sam rode into camp, and after finding me asked me to go down and see mother and father, and so I got permission from the General and went with him, and as we were riding out of camp we met Brother Judson Cary Mettam and a lot of the boys from the village, all of them walking some four miles to get a look at some live rebels. So we all went along towards home, which I had left September, 1862, very early in the morning.

When we reached the house I left my horse with two trusty friends, with his head pointed up the road towards camp, and went up the back alleyway and into the kitchen, where I found my dear mother waiting in hopes I would come, but not knowing positively that I would. So after a quiet time with mother I walked into the sitting room and found father and sisters, nieces and nephews, all waiting to see me. I really did not expect such a reception, especially when I was told that within a hundred yards at the United States Arsenal (now the Confederate Home) there were at least a thousand Yankee soldiers, and for all that I took a wash off in the kitchen and put on clean clothes from head to foot, and about midnight I was ready to go. One of my nieces brought her school-bag full of cakes for me to take with me, and on my return to the company to be enjoyed by the boys.

I then bade goodbye to all and started back for the camp at Carroll's Caves. On my way up Garrison Forest road I came to our outer pickets and found they were holding up J. Howard McHenry,²⁷ wife and child, who were seated in their carriage and just returned from a visit to camp to see Mrs. McHenry's two brothers, John and Willie Cary,²⁸ members of our regiment, and I soon straightened things out to the satisfaction of the pickets and bade Mr. and Mrs. McHenry good night and goodbye, not knowing then when, if ever, I would see them again.

I then found out from the pickets that the brigade had left camp and was out on the turnpike near Owings' Mills, and I found them scattered along the turnpike, some lying down and some sitting up in a fence corner, sleeping. So we remained there until daybreak and then made our way through to Painter's Farm, and found the men getting ready to load a car on the siding of the Western Maryland Railroad with freezers of ice-cream for the Baltimore market. So Ned Rich, Powell Cockey, Skinner Quinn and myself took possession of a ten-gallon freezer, and with the cakes I had brought from home, we were soon having a cold free lunch for breakfast. Some of the West Virginia troops that were combined with our brigade had never seen ice-cream, and thought it was frozen mush and dipped it out into their hats and ate it riding along.

We then continued our march out to the Liberty Road, and then down until we struck the Washington road, and upon reaching Beltsville we saw coming up from Washington about five hundred cavalry, and General Johnson ordered Sweeny and myself to ride to the top of a high hill so as to get a good view of them, and then let him know, as we were unable to tell from the distance whether rebels or Yanks. I told Sweeny to ride back and ask General Johnson to come up and put his field glasses on them, which he did. In the meantime they were taking down the fence and going into an open field and deploying their skirmish line for a fight, so General Johnson ordered up the Baltimore Light, and they let go on a few shot and shell (July 12, 1864), dropping a few the first round. They soon made a break and were on their way

²⁷ James Howard McHenry, of "Sudbrook," Pikesville, was born in 1820 and died in 1888. He married Sarah Nicholas Cary, eldest daughter of Wilson Miles Cary. Dielman File, Md. Hist. Soc.

²⁸ John Brune Cary and Wilson Miles Cary, brothers of Hetty Cary, and Mrs. James Howard McHenry, were widely known in Maryland and Virginia following the war. Grandnephews of Thomas Jefferson, both served with distinction in the Confederate Army. Dielman File, Md. Hist. Soc.

to Washington, Captain Bill Nicholas²⁹ at once asked General Johnson for permission to take a squadron and charge them. He finally persuaded the General, and Captain Bill yelled and squadrons E and F fell in line and away we went, about forty of us, after the Yanks. They would wheel around and fire and then away they would go, dropping horse feed and baggage from their horses, and we would give them a fusillade of lead. Finally we shot one of the horses, and as he fell his rider went down with him, but hurriedly got up, jumped the fence, and was making across the field. I tried my best to get a shot at him with my carbine, but my little sorrel mare was so excited that I could not hit him, and finally threw myself from the saddle and, resting my carbine on the fence, let fly just as he jumped behind a hay stack. We continued for several miles further, and finally, when Captain Bill looked around he found that he had only Sweeny and myself with him. The rest of the horses had played out, and no wonder, when we had for weeks been on the go day and night. We were then in sight of the outer breastworks of Washington, and so we turned around and took our way back to the command, but not before we had stopped at a wayside tavern, at the invitation of Captain Bill, and had a drink of whiskey, to regain our nerve power, which had been somewhat exhausted from the effects of our exciting race.

I must say here that the objective point we had expected to make in this special raid was Point Lookout, to relieve our men that were confined there, but as General Johnson was about making his plans he received an order from General Early, who had threatened Washington, to report to him at once. Turning the head of the column towards Washington we caught General Early that night near Blair's House at Silver Spring. We halted at Rockville to feed our horses, and a regiment of Federal cavalry made a charge on us, but fortunately we had enough men ready for them and drove them back with loss, and our regiment, the First Maryland, was ordered to mount and then charge with a rush, and

²⁹ Wilson Cary Nicholas was born in the New York Navy Yard in 1836. He joined company G of the 1st Maryland Infantry in May of 1861. After the regiment disbanded, he was appointed a 1st lieutenant, unattached, in the Confederate Army. In November of 1863 he was assigned as captain and Inspector General to the Maryland Line. Assigned to the 1st Maryland Cavalry in 1864, he was wounded and captured at Rockville. After being confined to several prisons, he was released in February of 1865. Nicholas joined General Lunsford Lomax, commanding in the Valley, and was sent to the 1st Maryland then near Richmond. He arrived the day before the surrender of Lee and was paroled in Richmond. He farmed at Owings Mills for many years. *C.M.H.* II, pp. 363-365 and Dielman File, Md. Hist. Soc.

I remember well how we almost all of us dropped our bridles and with pistol in one hand, sabre in the other, and with our spurs into our horses' flanks, we followed them, yelling like Indians, and as they seemed to be satisfied to get away from us, we concluded to let them go.

From Rockville, still covering the rear of Early's army, our brigade followed them to Poolesville, where during half the day it covered Early, recrossing the Potomac. His trains were long, piled with plunder and large herds of cattle and horses.

The Federals pressed down on our rear guard, but our cavalry held them in check until dark, and the Baltimore Light Artillery fired the last shots as the First Maryland Cavalry were the last troops that crossed the Potomac on Early's withdrawal from Maryland in 1864.

This ride from July 9th to July 13th was probably the longest ride taken during the war. For one hundred and twenty hours we never dismounted except to unsaddle and feed once every twenty-four hours, and of course we ate what we could pick up on the roadside and slept in our saddles.³⁰

After crossing the river our brigade followed General Early to Winchester, and in a short time to Martinsburg. From that point General Early dispatched General McCausland³¹ with his brigade and Johnson's brigade to demand a contribution from Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, in retaliation for the burning of the houses of Honorable Alexander P. Boteler,³² Andrew Hunter³³ and Edward

³⁰ Additional accounts of Johnson's ride to Baltimore may be found in *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XXX, p. 215-225, My Ride Around Baltimore in 1864, Bradley T. Johnson; *The Maryland Line*, W. W. Goldsborough (Baltimore, 1869), pp. 249-250, 323-324; *Four Years in the Saddle*, Harry Gilmor (New York, 1866), pp. 184-204.

³¹ John McCausland (9/13/1836-11/22/1927) graduated from the Virginia Military Institute in 1857 and the University of Virginia in 1858. He taught for several years at V.M.I. In 1861 he raised the 36th Virginia Infantry and went into service as its colonel. After the death of General A. G. Jenkins, he was promoted to command his brigade of cavalry. As part of Rosser's division, he lived up to the reputation he had made for daring and cut his way out of the Federal ring around Appomattox. After several years abroad, he returned to West Virginia and purchased an estate of 6000 acres where he spent the rest of his long life: *Generals in Gray*, pp. 197-198.

³² Alexander Robinson Boteler (5/16/1815-5/8/1892) made his home at Fountain Rock near Shepherdstown. In 1859 he was in the United States House of Representatives and was elected in 1861 to the Confederate Provisional Congress. Boteler also served as volunteer aide on the staff of Stonewall Jackson and of Jeb Stuart. From 1882 to 1889 he served in the U.S. Department of Justice. His home was burned by order of General David Hunter on July 19, 1864: *DAB*, II, pp. 467-468.

³³ Andrew Hunter was a first cousin of Union General David Hunter who ordered the destruction of his home in the suburbs of Charlestown. By his orders, Mr. Hunter, a Virginia State Senator, was held for a month in the

Lee³⁴ at Shepherdstown and Charlestown a short time before.³⁵

He sent a written demand on the authorities of Chambersburg for \$100,000.00 in gold and \$500,000.00 in greenbacks for the purpose of indemnifying these losses from General Hunters' barbarities, or, in default of payment, he ordered the town to be burned. The expedition started July 29th and reached Chambersburg on the 30th. McCausland then sought the town authorities but they had fled. He then caused the Courthouse bell to be rung to call together a town meeting to make his demand known to them, but the panic-stricken people would not trust themselves to a conference with "rebels." They would not believe, and were not slow in saying that the rebels would never dare to burn the town because they were afraid to do so. This was really the tone assumed by the people of Chambersburg that morning. Finding delay useless and dangerous, McCausland set fire to the Courthouse, which made a flaming beacon of fast coming disaster, and in five minutes it was ablaze from twenty different points. We were then withdrawn from the town and started for Virginia.

We moved up to Cumberland, but finding General Kelly³⁶ there with a force too strong for us, we turned off and recrossed the Potomac at Old Town in Hampshire county (now West Virginia), thence to New Creek on the B. & O. Railroad, where we found quite a strong force and the place well fortified, a block house having been built, and also, on the platform of a freight

guard house without charges. While thus confined, his kinsman had his home burned without allowing his family time to remove their personal effects from the home. *The Blue and the Gray*, edited by Henry Steele Commager, (New York, 1950) II, 1042; Imboden, *Fire, Sword and the Halter*.

³⁴ Edmund J. Lee and his wife, Henrietta Bedinger Lee, made their home at Bedford. When General David Hunter ordered it burned, she fled with her two small children and the servants. She penned to Hunter the famous letter calling eternal curses upon his head. Edmund J. Lee was a near kinsman of General Robert E. Lee. His age prevented him from serving in the army and he was not a politician. *Heroines of Dixie*, Katherine M. Jones (New York, 1955), pp. 309-312.

³⁵ The burning of Chambersburg was General Jubal Early's idea, as he recorded in his *Memoir of the Last Year of the War for Independence*, published in Lynchburg in 1867, p. 67, "in the way of retaliation." In *Southern Historical Society Papers*, Vol. 31, p. 266-270, General John McCausland, selected by Early to burn the city, states his version of the affair and lists more of the incidents that made Early decide to retaliate. Also in Volume 37 of those papers, Fielder C. Slingsluff of the 1st Maryland Cavalry records his memories of that expedition on pages 152-163.

³⁶ Benjamin Franklin Kelley (4/10/1807-7/17/1891) in 1826 came with the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad at Wheeling. At the onset of the war he raised a regiment which he led at Philippi in 1861. For most of the war he was assigned to the Department of West Virginia and charged with the defense of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. He died at Oakland, Maryland. *Lamb's Biographical Dictionary of the United States* (Boston, 1901), IV, 490.

car there was a regular iron clad battery with two guns mounted and a shifting engine attached, and they would move this machine up and down the tracks and fire at will, at the same time protecting the ford, at which point we wanted to cross, being a branch of the Potomac.

General Johnson took in the situation and concluded to attempt to silence the infernal machine, so he ordered up the Baltimore Light Artillery and asked Lieutenant McNulty³⁷ to do his best to stop it, and after one or two shots he sent a solid shot right through its vital part and stopped its active firing afterwards, and at the same time our regiment was ordered to cross the ford at this juncture, and as we were to some extent protected by artillery, we succeeded in crossing and made a charge on the camp, followed up by the artillery, until we had driven the Yanks out from their stronghold and taken possession, finding it well stored with all kinds of provisions and supplies of all descriptions.

We supplied our wants with what we most needed and then destroyed the balance.

We then proceeded to Moorefield in Hardy county, West Virginia, where we went into camp on the sixth of August, 1864. Our lines were made, the camps pitched and pickets posted according to the orders of General McCausland, the commanding officer. Colonel Harry Gilmor³⁸ was placed in command of the First and Second Maryland, and we were all camped on the Romney road. McCausland had gone over on the other side of the South Branch of the Potomac. General Johnson remained on this side, making his headquarters in Van Meter's house. The first detachment for picket duty was then made, and Lieutenant Fielder C. Slingluff³⁹ in charge. The detail was from Companies E and F, composed of

³⁷ 1st Lieutenant John R. McNulty, 2nd Maryland Artillery, the Baltimore Light, is frequently mentioned in Goldsborough's *The Maryland Line*.

³⁸ Colonel Harry Gilmor (1/24/1838-3/4/1883) was born in Baltimore County, Maryland. He joined the Ashby Cavalry where he was conspicuous for his daring. In May of 1863 he raised a battalion of horse that later became the 2nd Maryland Cavalry. Gilmor made a name for himself as a raider. After the war he spent several years abroad before returning to Baltimore. In 1874 he was elected police commissioner of Baltimore. His Book, *Four Years in the Saddle*, was published in 1866. Dielman File, Md. Hist. Soc.

³⁹ Fielder Cross Slingluff (6/16/1842-5/20/1918) graduated from Yale University in 1861. Before leaving Yale he ran the stars and bars of the Confederacy to the top of Yale Chapel flagpole and securely locked the door leading to the flagpole before leaving for his Maryland home. Slingluff first enlisted in the 2nd Virginia Cavalry and in 1863 helped to organize Company F of the 1st Md. Cavalry which he entered as a second lieutenant. As reported by Mettam, he was captured at Moorefield and remained a prisoner of war at Camp Chase until early in 1865. For many years he was a prominent attorney in Baltimore. *C.M.H.*, II, 395-387 and Dielman File, Md. Hist. Soc.

twelve men; among them were myself (H. C. Mettam), George Sweeny, and four others from our Company E (I cannot now remember their names) and six from Company F. Among them was Carl Kauffman, whom I remember very well as a very large man and a good soldier, as he and I were sent out on the relief at four o'clock in the morning (we were surprised by General Averell).⁴⁰ From the time we were sent out to do picket duty from headquarters we had never heard a word nor received any instructions or food, and finally on the fourth day Lieutenant Slingluff sent one of the men (Billy Boone) into camp for instructions and food, as we had been getting what we could to eat from the houses in the vicinity of the post and paying for it out of our pockets. The messenger never returned, and when at four o'clock, after a drizzling rain all day, which made the dirt road in such a condition that you could not hear the sound of horses' feet, and also the fog was so dense that it was impossible to see your hand in front of you, and we had not gone half a mile when three cavalrymen rode in between us, put pistols to our heads and said, "You are prisoners." You can judge of our feelings at that time. We were hurried to the rear and brought to General Averell, who asked us all kinds of questions, how many men in the Confederate command and where are they, &c, &c, all of which we declined to say and told him he must go on and find out. Of course before they reached us they had necessarily taken the outer pickets and then it was easy to come on and take us. So then they captured our reserve, including Lieutenant Slingluff. Day was then breaking by that time and we were huddled together and kept under guard while General Averell and his command went into the fight. We could hear the guns and racket of the battle, and to think that they had no warning so as to be somewhat prepared for it. General Bradley Johnson barely escaped being captured. I was told that some one saw him coming out from Van Meter's house and gave him his horse, and he by that means was saved, but the man who gave up his horse went to prison with the rest of us, in all, about three hundred.

Well, after the battle was over and the prisoners brought back

⁴⁰ William Woods Averell (11/5/1832-2/3/1900) graduated from West Point in 1857 and was seriously wounded fighting the Navahoes on the frontier. In August of 1861 he was appointed colonel of the 3rd Pennsylvania Cavalry and entrusted with command of the Washington defenses. March of 1863 found him a brigadier and he soon thereafter started on the series of raids in western Virginia and the Valley that should have won him enduring fame as a soldier. Some of the brightest pages of the cavalry war were written by Averell. He entered private industry after the war. *D.A.B.*, I, 441-443.

we started back towards New Creek. The first night we were all put in a cattle pen in the field with a high fence and cavalry placed thick around us. The next morning we were started on the march, we who had always been used to be mounted on our good horses now on foot, and during that all day march we had nothing to eat except green apples which the guards would knock off from the trees along the road with their sabres, and then after eating them drink water out of a brook running across the road after many of the horses had gone up the stream and stirred it up. We finally arrived at New Creek about midnight, and we were promised plenty to eat when we reached there, but when we were ordered to rest I lay down for rest and sleep, hungry as I was, but many of the boys stayed around for their rations, and next morning when I awoke I found some bread and meat tucked under me by some of the boys. We then were loaded in freight cars and taken to Wheeling where we were placed in a large building. I can not remember whether it was a jail or only a hall, but we were drawn up in line and ordered to march around to a window, and there we received a tin of coffee and bread, and after that we all lay down as best we could on the floor and slept till morning, when we were loaded on freight cars and taken to Columbus, Ohio, and then marched out to Camp Chase, four miles from Columbus, arriving there about August 13th. We were then taken into what was termed a bull pen. Soon after reaching there we were assigned to barracks with bunks built each side, with an aisle running front to back, and the bunks were built three tiers deep, and each bunk was to accommodate four for sleeping.

In the rear room was the kitchen with large range with perhaps a dozen or more holes, and each mess of eight or ten would have a kettle holding about four gallons, and that was our only cooking utensil. I soon became acquainted with many of the boys outside of our company and regiment, and a mess was formed, and among them was one from a West Virginia regiment by the name of Strausburg, and we became chums. We would get up early in the morning and take a walk around the "Bull Pen" for an hour or more. The walk was where the wagons came in to deliver rations and fuel to each of the barracks, the barracks being built in two rows, I think about twenty of them, and between the barracks and high fence which surrounded the prison, this drive was made and between this drive and fence was a deep ditch about four feet from the fence and on the fence was a parapet with a walk for the guards, and any one that stepped over that ditch or deadline, as it was called, was shot.

We had our rations delivered about eleven o'clock each day, consisting of beef, potatoes and bread; this came in quantities inside the pen to the Commissary Department and there divided and brought to each barracks and then divided to each mess, and by the time each person received his portion the meat was about a quarter of a pound, or less, perhaps three potatoes, and an army loaf of bread cut into six pieces, each receiving one-sixth. This was a day's rations and, as a rule, was eaten up as one meal, and wait then twenty-four hours for another. So you can imagine we were not overfed.

I remember on one occasion we were issued corn meal, being in retaliation for some given their men in Southern prisons, a pint each, and I assure you it was more acceptable than the wheat bread, for it went three times as far; also dried white lake fish and white potatoes, so we were in a quandary for a while how to cook it. I then suggested to boil the fish, pick out all the bones, boil the potatoes and remove the skins, then put on our kettle, get the water boiling, stir in the corn meal until cooked, then stir in the fish and potatoes, and when all was well mixed for us to make arrangements with some men who had built a small oven in one part of the ground, to bake it. We borrowed their large bake pan, poured in the mess, put it into the oven, and in due course of time we took it out and it was beautiful and brown and we divided it between us six, comprising our mess, and each of us got a piece 6 x 6 three inches thick, and we each had a square meal or fill, and kept a little over for our evening meal.

One time I kept a little for a morning meal and put it under my head, and during the night some one stole it, so I then concluded to eat what I got at one meal and wait the twenty-four hours, as I had been doing.

Some of our boys in walking around the pen came in the neighborhood of the Commissary Department and saw a good sized cat, looking nice and fat and apparently had been filled with food that should have been ours, so one of them laid plans to capture the cat and did so one night, and after slaughtering the said cat, skinned and cleaned it the same as rabbit, put it down in salt and water over night, and then with a few onions and potatoes made a stew and we six had a square meal and thoroughly enjoyed it, but I have never been able to eat rabbit since.

Talking in this line about eating and scant rations, when men are hungry they will eat most anything to keep life in them, and I have seen men gather up bones from the open sewer that ran through the pen, take stones and break them, then put them in

a little pot and boil until what little grease was in them came to the top, skim it off and put into a little tin can and spread on their bread.

Before we arrived at the prison we were told that there had been a sutler's establishment so you could buy most anything to eat, but as soon as the prison authorities heard that some three hundred Marylanders were coming they had it closed.

We were all getting a little tired of the confinement and concluded that we would formulate some plan of escape, and finally it was suggested that we would dig out. So we had a committee appointed, and, after some discussion, concluded to open up a hole in the kitchen of our barracks, and by taking up the bricks in front of the range, which was about four feet square, then dig down about four feet and continue to tunnel out towards the outer fence, as our barracks were last in the row, and hence could the sooner get outside. We dug down some four feet and then with case knives started for the fence, and as soon as we got the hole large enough one of us would lie on our backs and dig with two knives. We had a small box which we would load with the earth, and then the man at the other end would haul it towards the mouth and another lift it out, another take it and pack it under our berths. We kept this up for about two or three weeks and were about getting near the outside of the fence when about midnight in came the officer of the guard with a squad of soldiers and ordered all out of the bunks and from the hole and then marched the lot out in the cold and put us to work getting out the dirt we had piled away and put it back where it belonged, with the threat that we should not have a mouthful of food until it was finished. Dick Strausburg and I were in the top bunk and escaped the vigilant eyes, and hence did not do any of the work of filling up, and we thought we had done our part in helping dig the hole.

We tried several times afterwards but never could succeed, and concluded there must be some one who informed on us for pay of some kind. Even in prison there were traitors.

Finally the time came for us to go out the way we came in, through the big gate, and some fifteen hundred were paroled for sixty days unless sooner exchanged, and about the first part of March, 1865, we were loaded on cars and started for Baltimore, Maryland, and on our way down the train we were on crossed a portion of the Cheat River Bridge, which had been burned by our men some time before and which had been rebuilt temporarily with pine trees as uprights, and as we looked out the freight car doors we could scarcely see the bottom and our old train shook

and swayed as we crossed. We finally arrived in Baltimore—Mount Clare—and from there we marched to Fort McHenry, where we spent the night. I had written to my father that we would be at Fort McHenry about that time and he came down to see me, and I saw them going up and down looking for me, and finally he came and asked me if Harry Mettam was in the bunch. He did not know me, but he soon knew me, and was so excited he handed me some money and bade me goodbye and left. We went into the barracks there for the night and were fed on bread and salt horse. During the night there came up a terrible blow, and it looked at one time as if it would blow the building down.

Morning came at last and we were marched on board the old steamer VIRGINIA, and started for old Virginia. We sailed up the James river to Aikens Landing where we anchored, as the fleet of Commodore Porter was there waiting for the President (Abe Lincoln) to come down from Washington, to review it. Finally the steamer, LADY OF THE LAKE,⁴¹ hove in sight with Lincoln and party on board, the Commodore's launch, manned by a complement of sailors, went from the flagship to the LADY OF THE LAKE, and Lincoln was put in the stern and passed right by our old ship, and he had such long legs, as he sat all cramped up his knees were about his ears.

As soon as he went aboard the flagship, the flag, which had been put up into a round ball, was cast to the breeze, the band struck up, "Hail to the Chief," and then a salute of so many guns was given for the President, and the concussion was so great that it shattered many of the panes of glass in our steamer.

Well, that was over and we were steaming up the James River to Richmond. We soon arrived at City Point and were landed and marched through inspection by the Commissioners of Exchange, Major Ould ⁴² of our side, and some Federal officers. As we marched along the band struck up from on board the steamer that came to take us to the city, "Home Again from a Foreign Shore," and we gave a yell and off we went into a double quick and we were soon aboard the steam tugs, &c., and ladies to wait upon us with good things to eat and drink, as we steamed up to the city dock. We

⁴¹ This charming glimpse of Lincoln is detailed in Volume 4 of Sandburg's *Abraham Lincoln, The War Years*, (New York, 1939) pages 140-150. According to Mr. Sandburg the steamer on which Lincoln traveled was the 'River Queen.'

⁴² Colonel Robert Ould (1/31/1820-12/18/1881) was born in Georgetown and graduated from the law school at William and Mary in 1842. Under Judah P. Benjamin, he was assistant secretary of War. In July of 1862, he was appointed Confederate Agent of Exchange. After the war, Secretary Stanton had him tried for treason but he was acquitted. He practiced law in Richmond until his death. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, XIX.

then marched up town and out to Camp Lee, where we were formally paroled (and my paper is locked up in my tin box).

We were back home again with our own dear people, and very glad to be with them, and once more on dear old Virginia soil. We had not been there many days when a half dozen of us concluded to start for Maryland, get money, and return to Virginia, buy horses and get into the army again. We started for Westmoreland, and soon after arriving made arrangements with two boatmen to row us across the Potomac river. In the party was Billy Boone, Jess Edelin, Sam Lancaster, Billy Price, Tom Brawner and myself. When we had gotten about half way across they spied a gunboat and wanted to turn back, and we had to draw our pistols to compel them to go on. We finally landed at Chaptico, St. Mary's county. The rest of the boys either lived in St. Mary's or Charles counties and they made for home, while I was from Baltimore county, north of Baltimore city, so I concluded to call on my father's old friend, Mark B. Chun, who had a son in the Southern army.

It was now about midnight and I went over to his house and roused him up and soon explained my position. So he gave me pen, ink, and paper and I wrote to Father to send me money so I could go back to Virginia, purchase a horse and follow the army wherever they proposed to make a stand, as just before we left Westmoreland we had news that Richmond had been evacuated, and Lee with his army was moving south.

In a few days I got a letter from Father telling me that Lincoln had been killed, the Potomac river was blockaded, and Booth, who had shot Lincoln, was supposed to be making his way through Charles and St. Mary's counties, and cavalry was following him, and I had better remain where I was until the excitement was quelled and I could see my way clear to come home.

The next day my friend, Mr. Chun, brought me a copy of the tri-weekly "American" and that gave me a full account of what was going on, regarding the shooting of Lincoln at Ford's Theatre in Washington by Wilkes Booth, the actor, and Booth had escaped by way of Alexandria and had crossed the Potomac, &c., and that Richmond had been evacuated by our forces, &c.

I then came to the conclusion that I must stay in the woods until quiet came, which I did. One night I was lying quietly rolled up in my blanket, about ready to go to sleep, when I heard the tramp of cavalry and the clanking of sabres as they rushed along, with shouts. I quickly gathered up my few belongings and made for the inner woods, where I knew that horses could not follow me, and spent the balance of the night there. I found out after-

wards they were hunting for Booth, as it was reported he had made his way down that section.

So finally, after spending about a month in the woods, I concluded that I would try to make my way home, after hearing of the surrender of General Lee at Appomattox.

So Mr. Chun hunted up a suit of clothes belonging to his son, John, (who, by the way, was in the Southern Army) so I dressed myself as best I could, went up to Charlotte Hall, and took the stage coach for Washington, D. C., where I arrived about seven o'clock p.m., and at once went to the B. & O. depot, which was draped very heavily in mourning (for Lincoln), and soldiers marching up and down, and it made me feel a little shaky, so I finally bought my ticket, found my way into a Baltimore train and took a seat in the smoker, thinking I would be less observed. Just before the train started a man of good appearance and dress took a seat beside me and offered me a cigar, which I accepted. After we had gotten some little distance from Washington this gentleman threw a lot of newspapers out of the window to a lot of soldiers standing near the track, and from the slight view as we passed looked to me as a camp, so I concluded he was not one of my fellows, and some little time afterwards he fell off to sleep and I thought best to move into another car, which I did.

The train finally arrived in Baltimore—Camden Station, about 8 o'clock, and I soon made my way up into the city and went directly to the old "Hand House," Paca street, where Brother Sam always put up his team, and thought perhaps he or some of the people from Pikesville would be there, but they had gone, so I went around on Lexington street to Harry Baider's Barber shop and found John Schultze there, and I got him to cut my hair, give me a shave and polish my boots, the same that I took from one of Custer's Aids after a fight at Trevilians, and when I had settled for all I had ten cents left. I did not make myself known to John as I was afraid he might talk to others, and I started out Paca Street and down to Pennsylvania Avenue, and out Pennsylvania avenue, and after walking some distance felt very thirsty, and stopped at a pump sitting back from the street and took a good drink out of an iron ladle. I then proceeded out and finally struck the turnpike, and when I reached the foot of Brown's hill, at the culvert, I was getting pretty tired, and my boots being a little large and heavy, I found my feet getting sore. So I took off my boots and tried it bare-foot, but soon found that would not go, so I finally pulled them on again and started. I finally reached the Three Mile House, which was kept by Buffington when I left home in 1862, and supposing

he was still there I tried my best to arouse some one, as it was then long past midnight. Not succeeding I lay myself down on the porch bench and got a nap, but it had been raining and got quite cool, being the early part of May, and finally, when daylight came I was roused up and found myself pretty cold.

The door was finally opened, and when I walked inside I found that a big negro had been lying on the floor quite near the door, wrapped up in blankets, and did not hear any banging.

The first go off I hunted for my ten cents, and told the barkeeper I wanted ten cents worth of whiskey, as I had walked from Baltimore and reached here after everything was closed and had to sleep on the porch bench, and when I inquired if Buffington still kept the hotel, he said they had gone up county for a couple of years.

I sat down to rest up so as to proceed on my journey out to my old home in Pikesville, as I was anxious to see Mother and Father and all again. Just then Tom Brown a calf butcher that I had known since I was a boy, came up and I knew him at once, but of course he did not recognize me. Without saying who I was I asked him if he could give me a seat to Pikesville. He said, No, his wagon was not very strong and he could not take me. I then said to him, Tom Brown, I am Harry Mettam, Sam's brother, just back from the Confederate Army, and do you refuse me now? He grabbed and hugged me and insisted on me having something to drink, and then hurried me into his calf wagon, and away we went as fast as the horse could go, and when we drove into Pikesville he took me direct to Brother Sam's, who was then keeping store, and when Sam saw me he grabbed me and took me back into the dining room, and the first question was, How is it you are here, and under what conditions, &c. I told him I had come home clean and fair and was still an unreconstructed "rebel." He grabbed me and said, That is all right, boy, I only wanted to know. Then I made for the old home and Mother and Father, Brother Judson, Kate, &c., and then I was for a while the real thing, and was feasted and petted and almost spoiled.

It was quite a while before I could sleep on a feather pillow, and Mother had to make me a straw pillow, which I had used for a long time.

Your Affectionate Father

(signed) HARRY C. METTAM
3308 Walbrook Ave.

Nov. 3rd 1912

THE METTAM FAMILY

Reverend Joseph Mettam, born in Mount Sorrel, England in 1805, died in Pikesville, Maryland in 1888.

Ruth Barker Mettam, his wife, born in Chesterfield, England in 1803 and died in Pikesville, Maryland in 1897.

Their Children were—

Samuel Barker Mettam born in England in 1826, died in Pikesville in 1903 and married Wilhemina Ford.

Joseph Mettam, 1826-1836.

William Laws Mettam 1830-1860 buried in August, Kent, England.

Allen Mettam 1832-1834.

Alice Barker Mettam 1835- no date available.

James Smith Mettam 1837 - 1838.

Anne Turner Mettam 1/8/1840 - 2/6/1841.

Judson Cary Mettam 1/4/1846 - 1893, married Maria Jane Cole.

Catherine Louisa Mettam 10/9/1848-6/7/1929 (Mrs. Philip Watts).

Henry Clay Mettam 1844-1929. Married Anna Marie Bartley, 1857-1929 of Philadelphia.

Their children were—

Joshua Bartley Mettam 1875-1944, issue

Matilda Whitely Mettam 1877-1952.

Annette Mettam 1879- (Mrs. Louis J. Burleigh), issue

Emma Landstreet Mettam 1881-1882

Marian Mettam Shaffer 1885-1935, issue

Ruth Mettam 1882-1882.

Rosamund Mettam Batts 1887-1960.

Charlotte Mettam Dick 1891-

COVER PICTURE

SOCIETY PLANS MAJOR EXPANSION

Under the terms of bequests, which total about \$2,600,000, from the late William S. and John L. Thomas, brothers, the Maryland Historical Society is planning a major addition to the Keyser Memorial Building, its present headquarters. To be erected on Monument Street, west of its present quarters, the new structure will be known as the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building. Approximately half of the gift will be used for construction, while the remainder will be reserved as an endowment fund toward the maintenance of the building.

The three-story and basement structure will be of red brick trimmed with white marble or limestone and will incorporate architectural features in keeping with the atmosphere of nearby Mount Vernon Place.

A street-level entrance will open into an exhibition area larger than the Society's present main gallery. To the right will be an auditorium provided with modern audio-visual equipment. Also on the ground floor will be sorely needed office, workroom and storage space. A staff room and kitchen will facilitate the entertaining of large gatherings of guests.

A Thomas and Hugg Memorial Room will occupy the center front of the main, or second, floor. This will be used for exhibition purposes, Council meetings, and gatherings of small groups. On this floor, too, will be offices, workrooms and additional exhibition and storage space.

To supplement the Society's present Confederate Room, a Civil War Union Room will be on the third floor as the result of a generous gift by Mr. Ernest A. Howard, historian of the Cecil County Historical Society. Items for exhibition there are accumulating. A meeting room for allied societies will also be on this level, and space will be provided for their records as well as for general storage. The basement level will almost entirely be given over to the Society's maritime collection.

An important element in the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building will be a new manuscripts division. Located between the exhibition corridors and the present north wall of the library, it will have a search room with three carrels on the main level and two stack levels below. The transfer of manuscript holdings from the present library stacks to the new stack levels is expected to allow space for future book storage. Other new facilities will include a manuscripts repair room, a painting restoration room and a general repair shop. The entire building will be fireproof, air-conditioned, and humidity-controlled. Elevator service will be provided.

Flanking the main entrance will be two large garden areas, and west of the new building will be a landscaped plaza for off-street alighting from vehicles which will be parked elsewhere. Included in the expansion plans, but paid for with the general funds of the Society, will be improved maintenance of the Keyser Memorial Building and the planting of trees and shrubs around the parking lot at the rear.

With the erection of the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building approximately 47,500 square feet of floor space will be added to the facilities of the Society, thus making possible the effective display of many collections now partially or wholly in storage. It is believed that the manuscripts division will expedite research and publication from holdings known to be rich, and that the auditorium will allow the holding of more meetings and more varied programs. As extensive as the improvements will be, ample space will remain for still further expansion.

H. R. M.

SIDELIGHTS

DR. JAMES B. STANSBURY

By FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

One of the primary sources of information about Captain Thomas Boyle's three voyages in the private armed schooner *Comet* during the War of 1812 is an anonymous logbook.¹ Internal evidence suggests that Dr. James B. Stansbury, the surgeon aboard the *Comet*, kept this eye-witness account of Boyle's forays against the British and their merchantmen. At the time of the publication of the logbook several years ago, Dr. Stansbury could not be identified further. Recently, however, some material has come to light which verifies the original assumptions about the logbook and yields biographical data about its author.²

Dr. James B. Stansbury was not a medical doctor. He was, rather, a pharmacist who owned a drug store at Fell's Point, Baltimore. As such, the entries in the last several pages of the logbook which relate to the sales of drugs, medicines, and store fixtures in 1837 indicate Dr. Stansbury's background.³

Stansbury was born about 1785. The place of his birth is not known. He had, apparently, come to Baltimore early in his life and established himself as a merchant. His career was interrupted by the War of 1812, and following the war, he married on January 11, 1815, Ann, the daughter of Colonel Joseph Biays.⁴ By this marriage he had seven children: Alfred M., Dickson, Charles, Edward, George, James, and Joseph.⁵

Stansbury had a varied war career. Sometime before the outbreak of hostilities, he had sailed from Baltimore in the ship *Han-*

¹ Frank F. White, Jr., "The *Comet* Harasses the British," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, (December, 1958), LIII, pp. 295-314.

² I am grateful to John B. Mahool, Jr., of Washington for his interest in Dr. Stansbury. He discovered the information in the course of his preparation of a genealogy of the Biays family.

³ Information supplied by Mr. Mahool.

⁴ Baltimore County Marriage License Records, 1803-1815, p. 265. Hall of Records, Annapolis.

⁵ "Charles H. Stansbury," in *History of Champaign County, Ohio*, II, by E. P. Middleton, pp. 177-181. National Society Daughters of the American Revolution Library, Washington, D.C., 1917.

nibal destined for France with a cargo of coffee. While he was on the high seas, the British blockading squadron captured his vessel and confiscated it and his cargo, leaving him penniless and suffering heavy losses. Sometime prior to June of 1812, the British had returned him to the United States. He determined to take revenge upon his captors, and consequently joined Captain Boyle's company on board the *Comet*.⁶ The story of Boyle's exploits aboard the *Comet* and the *Chasseur* in which Stansbury participated have been told elsewhere.⁷ While he was aboard the latter ship, Boyle issued his proclamation blockading the British coast which Stansbury signed as Boyle's secretary.⁸

After the close of the war, Stansbury returned to Baltimore. There he seems to have remained for twenty years. His wife Ann died about 1836, and in the next year, he married Elizabeth Rawleigh at whose home he had boarded after Ann's death.⁹ Shortly after this second marriage, the entire family left Baltimore for Urbana, Illinois, where he remained until his death at the age of seventy-six years on January 15, 1860.¹⁰ At his death, the local newspaper said that Doctor Stansbury "was truly a gentleman of the 'olden time,' frank, plain, modest, graceful and dignified in all his intercourse with the world. His memory will be cherished by his friends and neighbors on account of his exemplary deportment, his consistent life and undeviating integrity." He was survived by three children of his second marriage: Marcus, Theodore, and Lambert.¹¹

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

⁷ White, *op. cit.*, pp. 295-315. The log of the *Chasseur* is printed in *Md. Hist. Mag.*, I (1906), pp. 168-180, 218-240.

⁸ *Niles' Weekly Register*, January 7, 1815.

⁹ Baltimore County Marriage License Records, 1832-1839, p. 221. Hall of Records.

¹⁰ The entries in the logbook dealing with the sales of store fixtures, etc., in 1837, would indicate that Stansbury made them as he was preparing to leave Baltimore.

¹¹ Middleton, *loc. cit.*, p. 178.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

John Pendleton Kennedy: Gentleman from Baltimore. By CHARLES H. BOHNER. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1961. x, 266. \$5.50.

As Mr. Bohner approached the task of writing John Pendleton Kennedy's biography, he might well have been dismayed by the amount of source material confronting him. However, Kennedy's untarnished charm, his complexity of character and versatility had already captured Mr. Bohner's imagination, and he bent enthusiastically to the task of digging through the vast deposits of Kennediana in the library of the Peabody Institute in Baltimore and elsewhere. To readers who prefer the modern technique whereby the biographer rushes at his subject, tears off his clothes, points out physical defects, hurls him on a couch and listens eagerly for "escapes," Mr. Bohner's courteous well-mannered approach, in which one occasionally catches faint echoes of Kennedy's admirable style, suggests that he at least tolerates Kennedy's pronouncement that "it is the biographer's duty to turn the virtues of an illustrious man to the best account The faults of a good man are but transient blemishes which quickly fade from view."

At any rate, from his prolonged immersion in the life story and the times of Kennedy, Mr. Bohner emerges as an admirer, a friend of his subject, and proceeds to draw a portrait as ingratiating as those by Tilyard and Hubbard which grace his book. He stresses Kennedy's determination, even as a school boy, to be a writer—a determination which ripened with time into a *leit-motif* of his life—a firm belief that a literary career could successfully coexist with the life of politics and business.

Baltimore, at the time Kennedy decided to leave his Virginian family circle and seek his fortunes in the city, was a raw, blatantly commercial town growing rich too fast for its good, and young Kennedy's literary ideals had a hard time of it. He never abandoned them, however, and all through the fierce political and industrial turmoil which engaged his energies he continued to gather notes and develop a sinewy, trenchant style against the day when he could satisfy his ambition to become a successful novelist.

Then, as now, Baltimore abounded in prosperous business men who, having grown rich, felt they could afford the luxury of a dip into the humanities. Kennedy saw that beneath the pretentiousness of these men was "an aspect of American culture not consciously literary but actively interested in the arts," and (born conciliator that he was) he often succeeded in bending the power of the businessmen to the service of the causes he was interested in. A notable example of this was his success in bringing Poe to a measure of contemporary recognition, and in inducing Mr. Peabody to reconsider his decision to abandon the plans which, under Kennedy's guidance, flowered into the Peabody Institute.

It is beyond the scope of this review to do more than hint at Kennedy's steady rise to high position in the national political scene, and his quiet assumption of authority in the country's literary life.* His dual ambition had come measurably near to realization. Complex to a degree, the story is told with sympathy and skill by Mr. Bohner. He disclaims correctly the idea that Kennedy was a genius. In the mass of Kennedy's writings I doubt if Mr. Bohner has found a single line to stir that feeling of awe with which one salutes the highest art. Kennedy's claim to greatness, however, seems justifiable if one reads the long list of important achievements well done. Those who insinuate that, well-born and affluent, he was inclined to take the easy way, should be reminded of the courageous political decision of his youth, his manly acceptance of certain domestic situations which kept him from becoming the world citizen he would have liked to be, and his support of the Union, to the unspeakable disgust of friends and family. Kennedy knew, and practised, that great article of the gentleman's code—renunciation.

J. GILMAN D'ARCY PAUL

Baltimore, Md.

Baltimore's Music. The Haven of the American Composer. By LUBOV KEEFER. Baltimore, 1962. xvii, 343. \$2.50.

Dr. Keefer has devoted over ten years to the development of this encyclopedia—for it is no less—of music in Baltimore during the past two centuries.

* Kennedy numbered among his close friends some of the outstanding men of letters in England. The persistent rumor that he wrote a chapter of *The Virginians* is still heard, but the facts seem to be that he supplied Thackeray with information regarding the men and customs of early Virginia which the English author could not have been expected to know.

A tireless worker, Dr. Keefer has proved herself a musical archaeologist in unearthing every artifact of musical content in Baltimore's history. As a matter of fact, the first music of any note in the state was produced in Annapolis where, in the 1740's, the "Tuesday Club" came into being, adopting the motto, "Fiddlers, Fools, and Farces." The members were all recruited from the gentry of the neighborhood, and some claimed astounding musical versatility; for example, one Henry Callister was considered a "virtuoso" on the violin, oboe, spinet, flute and cello. A veritable one-man symphony orchestra!

Dr. Keefer's book unfolds into an elaborate recording of Baltimore's musical entertainers, composers, publishers, concert halls, and orchestras. It catches the moments of enthusiasm of the mid-nineteenth century when Baltimore lost its heart to those eminent visitors who gave it a taste of their artistic brilliance—Ole Bull, Jenny Lind, Adelina Patti, and Leopold de Meyer.

A number of chapters are devoted to the birth and development of the Peabody Institute. The heart of the book is focused on the ascending fortunes of this superior conservatory and on its great director, Asgar Hamerik. Hamerik became the Peabody's guiding star in 1870, and for more than two decades sent its musical reputation spiralling upwards, with the development of a sound faculty and the introduction of impressive series of concerts by eminent performers.

Dr. Keefer writes with such brilliance of phrase and with such sly touches of humor that one is surprised to learn that the degree of Doctor of Philosophy which she acquired at John Hopkins University was not in English literature. (It was in German!)

A note of warning: Her book is not for the casual reader, but for the serious student. It contains so much "meat" that one wonders why she did not develop more items in detail in the text itself rather than in her copious notes, and make a two-volume history instead of compressing everything into a book of less than 300 pages in text. Had that been done, it might have given her the opportunity to elaborate on a few human interest sketches which are known to some Baltimoreans but not to a wide number: the birth and popularizing of "Maryland My Maryland"; the prolific compositions of Henry Dielman, uncle of the beloved Louis Dielman whose memory will be forever associated with the library of the Historical Society; the figure of hoary-haired, gray-moustached Lazarus Fisher, who conducted the musicians in the pit of Ford's Theatre for countless years; the prodigious group of martial musicians whom Lazarus's son, Louis Fisher, was able to weld

together in World War I as Pershing's Band, and who would have made Louis rank with the greatest bandmasters in America if the boys hadn't become too homesick when the war was over, thereupon breaking up what would have been a national institution.

Dr. Keefer could give us much additional pleasure by penning these and other musical tidbits in detail. We hope that one of these days she'll do it.

LESTER S. LEVY

Pikesville, Md.

William Goddard, Newspaperman. By WARD L. MINER. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1962. vii, 223. \$6.

Conclusions previously made by Lawrence C. Wroth and Joseph T. Wheeler about the life and accomplishments of William Goddard (1740-1817) are amplified, clarified, and confirmed in this biography.

Continually demonstrating an argumentative proclivity which helped neither his social nor his financial position, Goddard founded and failed with both the *Providence Gazette* and the (Philadelphia) *Pennsylvania Chronicle*. In 1773, he moved to Baltimore and established the *Maryland Journal*.

His involvement in establishing a continental postal system ended in such a personal monetary disaster that he had to turn over the *Journal* to his sister, Mary Katherine Goddard. She ostensibly ran the press during the Revolution, but William determined some editorial policies. Professor Miner correctly concludes that Goddard's actions in behalf of journalistic freedom rank him with John Peter Zenger. Twice newspaper articles so incensed local super-patriots that they drove him from town. Both times he was vindicated by the state government and was allowed to return. The author should have accorded more credit to the enlightened Maryland leaders who supported the contentious printer. After the war Goddard resumed control of the *Journal*, prospered, married, and, in 1792, retired.

The literary quality of the work is somewhat marred because excessively long quotations and bibliographical notations are incorporated into the text. These notations and the "Notes on Sources" do not compensate for the absence of footnotes. The author, nevertheless, has made a significant addition to eighteenth century Maryland history and has portrayed a man whose accomplishments deserve wider attention.

DAVID C. SKAGGS

Georgetown University

The Progressive Years: The Spirit and Achievement of American Reform. Edited by OTIS PEASE. New York: George Braziller, 1962. xiv, 491. \$8.50.

In this attractive book, part of the six-volume "American Epochs Series," Professor Otis Pease of Stanford University brings together a selection of representative writings of Americans who helped shape one of the truly significant epochs in the nation's history. The reform era that extended over the first two decades of the twentieth century—The Progressive Era—was indeed, as Professor Frank Freidel of Harvard states in his preface to this volume, "the seed bed out of which grew the New Deal and the Fair Deal and, in turn, the New Frontier." Turning their attention to the political, economic, and social problems produced by the nation's swift capitulation to industrialization and urbanization, reformers in these years "irrevocably changed the role of government . . . and . . . indelibly marked the thinking of several generations." By presenting extracts from the writings of such progressive figures as Frederic C. Howe, Jane Addams, Lincoln Steffens, Walter Lippmann, William James, Theodore Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson, Professor Pease enables the reader to savor the premises, aspirations, achievements and frustrations of that generation of "restless young men and women who . . . were beginning to confront their powerful elders with questions and proposals." Since the problems they tackled, and the questions and proposals they came up with, are still meaningful to American society and politics in the 1960's, the reader may also evaluate for himself the trend of modern liberalism from its roots at the turn of the century, judge its effectiveness and shortcomings in the past, and assess its relevance for the future.

The selections included in this anthology are substantial in length and largely uncut, and this is an advantage. Professor Pease has written a short introduction to each piece, and also a twenty-two page essay which serves as a general introduction to the Progressive Era as a whole. A brief bibliography at the end of the volume guides the interested reader to other primary sources for samples of progressive thought, as well as to the best of the increasing number of historical works that deal with this interesting and formative period.

J. JOSEPH HUTHMACHER

Georgetown University

Swallow Barn. By JOHN PENDLETON KENNEDY. Edited with an introduction by WILLIAM S. OSBORNE. New York: Hafner Publishing Company, 1962. lv., 506. \$2.75.

This paperback printing of the 1851 edition of Kennedy's romance of Virginia country life (published first in 1832) brings back into print a major document of Southern cultural history, making readily accessible Kennedy's astute analysis of the rural Virginian temperament and life during the early decades of the nineteenth century. Professor Osborne's main preoccupation is with the literary details of *Swallow Barn*, but despite a very long introduction he fails to show why the novel, apart from its recognized merits as history, should engage the attention of a modern reader. The editor perhaps emphasized the wrong things in his approach to Kennedy's work, for as literature *Swallow Barn*, with its heavy and prolix style, is a tedious book lacking even a plot that could have drawn its chapters together. Kennedy himself confessed that it was "a book of episodes with occasional digression into plot," but William Wirt more nearly hit the mark when he said "too much verbage and too little wit."

Swallow Barn is an invertebrate novel, far more interesting as social or literary history than as literature. Many of Professor Osborne's judgments are unconvincing. Whether Kennedy really intended a mild burlesque of parts of Washington Irving's *Bracebridge Hall* is a debatable question, but even granting that he did intend this, it is not especially important. Further, the quoting of a single passage to show how Kennedy "anticipated" Mark Twain is unfortunate, for it suggests that there are closer relationships between the two writers than really exist. As to the claim that Kennedy tried to achieve "naturalness" in his writing, one can grant this only by 1) extracting random lines from their context or 2) first proving that rhetoric itself is natural, because the rhetorical devices and the eighteenth-century mannerisms of *Swallow Barn* are among its most obvious features.

It is doubtful whether the present edition of *Swallow Barn*, welcome though it is, will add to Kennedy's stature as an American writer. The more important task, relating the work of Kennedy to his era, has already been performed by Charles E. Bohner in his excellent study, *Gentleman from Baltimore* (1961).

CECIL D. EBY

Washington and Lee University

Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites. By KENNETH CARROLL. Easton, Md.: The Easton Publishing Company, 1962. 116. \$3.75.

Dr. Kenneth Carroll, native of Easton, Maryland, well-known religious historian, and active leader in the Society of Friends, has given us an excellent account of the hitherto little-known Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites from their beginnings as an independent religious group of unchurched individuals on the Eastern Shore of Maryland to their eventual inclusion in Quakerism.

Similarities between the Nicholites and Friends are examined, such as attitudes toward slavery, war, capital punishment, the taking of oaths, the marriage ceremony, the hiring of ministers and later, after Joseph Nichols' death, their organizations. The possible influence of John Woolman and other Friends on Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites is discussed.

Dr. Carroll's research indicates that Nicholite Meeting Houses were located in Caroline and Dorchester Counties of Maryland and then in North and South Carolina, as a result of migration.

In the Appendix are listed Nicholites who were admitted as members to the Society of Friends, as well as records of births, marriages, witnesses to marriages and wills of the Nicholites.

Covering the period 1760-1798 we have here a very readable, documented study of the life of a small but interesting religious group and its founder, and the influences which played back and forth between it and other religious organizations.

THEODORE H. MATTHEISS

Baltimore, Md.

William Plumer of New Hampshire, 1759-1850. By LYNN W. TURNER. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962. Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Va. 366. \$7.50.

The New England past occupies a favored place in American historiography because New Englanders have made it so. Both in quality and quantity, its historians and antiquarians have produced torrents of words which ensure for their section a hearing from subsequent generations. Much of this writing pertains to Massachusetts, and particularly in the national period, the other New England states suffer a relative neglect which makes the appearance of this fine biography of New Hampshire's William Plumer the more welcome.

Plumer held high office both in his own state and at Washington. His career in the Senate during Jefferson's administration will attract those interested in American national history, and while governor of New Hampshire he figured prominently in the Dartmouth College Case. Turner devotes considerable space to this affair and handles it excellently. His portrait of Plumer is convincing and unpretentiously executed. His subject affords a prototype of that group of Federalist politicians of the 1790's who found greener political pastures in the expanding Republican party which ran away from Jefferson and Madison.

For Maryland readers there is not much specifically relevant, except perhaps the impeachment of federal judges issue in 1804, when the Jeffersonians deposed Judge Pickering of New Hampshire and then moved unsuccessfully against Justice Samuel Chase of Maryland. But Marylanders should follow the example set by this study, and begin to render belated justice to their state's early national leaders. Until we have scholarly and analytical biographies of such men as William Pinkney, William Wirt, Samuel Smith, Benjamin C. Howard, Reverdy Johnson (to name but a few), this era of Free State history is doomed to its present, undeserved, state of near-obscurity.

FRANK OTTO GATELL

University of Maryland

Prohibition and the Progressive Movement: 1900-1920. By JAMES H. TIMBERLAKE. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963. 238. \$5.25.

The thesis of *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement* is that "... sometimes regarded as a conservative measure, prohibition was actually written into the Constitution as a progressive reform." In this position Dr. Timberlake seemingly collides squarely with at least one Progressive analyst, Eric Goldman, who saw Prohibition as the "crowning symbol of the drive for conformity" and Wilson's veto of the Volstead Act as the "last gasp of Wilsonian progressivism." The difficulty is what is progressivism or the Progressive movement.

To the author, it is a combination of idealism and pragmatism heavily laced with the New Nationalism of Theodore Roosevelt. The dominating personnel are the old-stock, middle class Americans who ram Prohibition through in spite of the opposition of Progressives identified with the urban-labor-immigrant elements. Yet, the nagging question remains, was Prohibition the last flick-

ering achievement of a dying Progressive movement or was it the first triumph of the Babbitts—those same old-stock, middle class Americans?

In systematically and very thoroughly analyzing the push for Prohibition, Dr. Timberlake assesses the religious, scientific, social, economic and political arguments and pressures. Religiously, the dry exponents were the evangelical Protestants and the leaders of the Social Gospel movement: the dry argument was that drink interfered with morality and the Protestant ethic, fomented unrest among the lower classes and caused a "drink-sodden, muddled and fuddled proletariat."

Turning to the scientific and social pressures, Dr. Timberlake notes the influence of scientists in exploding the "myths" of liquor's benefits, the pressure of the WCTU and their "dry" textbook crusade, and the practical support of the insurance agencies and settlement workers. Most picturesque was the attack of the Boston Associated Charities with their diamond-shaped stickers for baseball bats, reading: "Speed! Aim! Ambition! make a good ball player! Liquor injures all three! Ask the Red Sox!"

Even more pragmatic are the points cited in "The Economic Argument." Business decried drink's evil effect on efficiency, noted that money diverted from liquor would support other industries, and paternally argued in a Victorian throw-back that workers could not be trusted to resist temptation. The A.F.L. in general opposed Prohibition, but it did pragmatically observe that strikes and drinks did not mix well.

Politically, the middle class saw Prohibition as the weapon to break the saloon-dominated boss politics and to democratize government. The assault was led by the Anti-Saloon League under Reverend Howard H. Russell and Purley A. Baker. The fruit of their labors is catalogued in "Toward a Dry Utopia," chronicling legislation through local option to the Eighteenth Amendment.

Having interestingly collected all the arguments for Prohibition, the author concludes with the question of whether the middle class "had undertaken something that the working classes would not accept and that they themselves would not obey. If so, they would either have to try to enforce the law through measures that smacked of tyranny, or they would have to acquiesce in a defiance of the law . . . In either case the result would be reaction, not progress." The victory of Prohibition would seem to lie with the Babbitts, fear and conservatism.

DOROTHY M. BROWN

College of Notre Dame of Maryland

Chesapeake Bay Log Canoes and Bugeyes. By MARION V. BREWINGTON. Cambridge, Md., Cornell Maritime Press, 1963. x, 171. \$10.

Back in 1937, Commander Brewington (U.S.N. Ret.) first published his "Chesapeake Bay Log Canoes." The text and pictures were in a small book about 8" by 4" with pictures; and the plans were in a flat paper covered book about 12" by 24". It was extremely awkward to read the text and follow the plans.

Again, in 1941, he took his pen and camera and brought out "Chesapeake Bay Bugeyes"—this in still another size.

Now, a reprinting joins the two in wedlock and his new edition of the combination will be welcomed by all. It is 8½" by 11" in size and contains all the wealth of information, as well as, all the pictures and plans of the previous edition.

Few changes have been made—only to clear up possible ambiguous passages. So much the better. For in Mr. Brewington, we have the acknowledged authority on these two Chesapeake Bay native craft. Even the dean of maritime historians, Howard I. Chapelle, says in a letter to me of March 18, 1963, "I know of Brewington's books on the bugeye and also his earlier book on the log canoe. I consider these types far better covered than the others on the Bay."

William Armstrong Fairburn, on page 267 of his first volume of "Merchant Sail," says in regard to the Chesapeake, "The territory used small rowboats, canoes acquired from the Indians, and pinnaces,—and any sail spread on such diminutive craft did not make them into sailing vessels worthy of recognition in a history of merchant sail."

Brewington, the authority on these two types, canoe and bugeye—has an answer here to Mr. Fairburn; and it is very pleasant to have the whole story in one easily handled volume. These types are strictly Maryland and should interest our readers.

RICHARD H. RANDALL

Baltimore, Md.

Daniel Morgan, Revolutionary Rifleman. By DON HIGGINBOTHAM. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1961. Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va. xi, 239. \$6.

Daniel Morgan was a Revolutionary War general who had a colorful career both as an Army officer and as a politician. During his lifetime, he became embroiled not only in frontier politics and the Whiskey Rebellion, but also specific campaigns during the Revolution. Higginbotham describes him as "an excellent tactician, a superb leader of men, and an outstanding light infantry commander."

Morgan, unfortunately, is a nearly forgotten commander of the Revolution. The author, however, has restored him to his role as an outstanding officer whose military career began with Braddock in 1755, continued through the Revolutionary War campaigns around Boston, Quebec, Saratoga, and those in the Middle States, and ended with the Whiskey Rebellion of the 1790's. His riflemen armed with Kentucky rifles performed excellent service during many of the battles of the Revolution and were important factors in many American victories. These same riflemen have helped to give Morgan his well-deserved reputation.

The author has characterized Morgan as one who was "the center of activity and not a little controversy." He certainly was all of that and more, in spite of the fact that he was illiterate, uncultured, and involved in tiffs with his superiors and with Congress. The author has, unfortunately, devoted most of his book to Morgan's military career and much too little to his personal life. He has, however, an excellent frontispiece portrait by Charles Willson Peale. It is, moreover, somewhat refreshing to have a biography of a Revolutionary War leader in this period of the great output of Civil War studies.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Maryland Hall of Records

A Calendar of Ridgely Family Letters 1742-1899 in the Delaware State Archives. Edited and compiled by LEON DE VALINGER, JR., and VIRGINIA E. SHAW. Family data supplied by MRS. HENRY RIDGELY. Vol. III. Milford, Delaware, 1961. xxxiv, 362. \$6.

These entertaining and skillfully edited letters reflect social and political life among the gentry in the middle colonies and states from 1742 to 1899.

The Delaware Ridgelys stem from Nicholas Ridgely (1694-1755), lawyer, who came from Anne Arundel County, Maryland, before 1734. The letters in this third and last volume begin with those of his great-grandchildren. The first pertain to Nicholas Ridgely IV (1820-1849) who was converted to Methodism at nineteen, and soon became a preacher. Among his converts was an elderly Quaker named John Woodall. When Patience Jenkins—a Quaker minister who at times threw her bonnet across the Meeting-house floor when preaching—heard this she “admonished” John not to “trust to a profession.” (Quakers believe in direct guidance from the Inner Light.) John’s wife Eliza answered: “that a youth of twenty-one was the happy instrument in the hands of God” in convincing him.

However, Nicholas’s brother Eugene wrote their sister Ann du Pont that Nicholas was tired being a Methodist preacher and said it was not “what it is *cracked up to be*. . . .” He also told his sister that John M. Clayton, a National political figure who became co-author of the Clayton-Bulver Treaty, and others, would speak at “a great Whig Meeting in Dover” where they will make a desperate effort to humbug the people . . . with music, coon skins and hard cider.”

Ann du Pont’s husband, Charles Irene, of the well known family, was an ardent Whig and supporter of John M. Clayton. He jokingly wrote his wife that if John M. becomes President, and he a successful bidder for a large Kersey contract, “we might die rich yet,” employ French instead of Irish cooks and go to Newport “to recreate a little.”

These valuable letters were salvaged in eight three-bushel bags from a loft in the old Ridgely house on Dover Green by Ann Ridgely du Pont in 1887. The collection contains Ridgely, Walter Dulany (of Maryland), and Comegys Papers—some were beyond repair. Other papers were added by Mrs. Henry Ridgely when, at her intercession, the collection was given to the Public Archives Commission of Delaware.

Those interested in the many facets of National and local lore that these letters disclose will be ever grateful to the late Mrs. Henry Ridgely for these books, and to Leon de Valinger, Jr., and Miss Virginia E. Shaw and their staff for the excellence of the presentation of the letters.

GEORGE VALENTINE MASSEY, II

Dover, Delaware

Just South of Gettysburg. Edited by FREDERIC SHRIVER KLEIN. Westminster: The Newman Press (for the Civil War Centennial Committee of the Historical Society of Carroll County, Md.), 1963. 247. \$3.95.

Just South of Gettysburg is a compilation of source materials, many of them printed for the first time, that vividly depict life in a border county of a border state during the Civil War. Numerous extracts from diaries, letters and documents describe the local excitement and alarms resulting from differences of opinion, widespread enlistment, cavalry raids and the mass movement of troops, all climaxed by the decisive engagement fought at Gettysburg less than ten miles distant from the northwestern corner of the county. In addition to combat many phases of the war are covered, including transportation, supply, communications and reporting. Of particular interest is the chapter describing Meade's plans to form a battle line in the county along Pipe Creek, plans that were disrupted "because of the accidental skirmish that became the great battle of the war at Gettysburg." The volume is illustrated and is accompanied by an excellent map of troop movements in the county during the Gettysburg Campaign.

Dr. Klein has been ably assisted by W. Harold Redcay and G. Thompson LeGore. Their book is an intelligent approach to the current commemoration of the war and is in accordance with the aims of the National Centennial Commission. All concerned with its production merit commendation.

HAROLD R. MANAKEE

Maryland Historical Society

BOOKS RECEIVED

- The Maritime Commerce of Colonial Philadelphia.* By ARTHUR L. JENSEN. Madison, Wis.; The State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the University of Wisconsin, 1963. viii, 312. \$4.75.
- The Papers of John C. Calhoun Volume II 1817-1818.* Edited by W. EDWIN HEMPHILL. Columbia, S. C.; The University of South Carolina Press for the South Caroliniana Society, 1963. xciv, 513. \$10.
- My Travels in America.* By HENRI HERZ. Translated by HENRY B. HILL. Madison, Wisc.; The State Historical Society of Wisconsin for The Department of History, University of Wisconsin, 1963. vi, 102. \$3.
- American Panorama Pattern of the Past and Womanhood In Its Unfolding.* By WALTER HART BLUMENTHAL. Worcester, Mass; Achille J. St. Onge, 1962. 48. \$3.
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- The Johns Hopkins Hospital and The Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine: A Chronicle. Vol. III. 1905-1914.* By ALAN M. CHESNEY. Baltimore; The Johns Hopkins Press, 1963. xv, 350. \$6.50.
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NOTES AND QUERIES

Grant-in-Aid Announcement—The Eastern National Park and Monument Association announces a grant-in-aid program to encourage original research in those areas of the National Park System located in the eastern part of the United States. Grants will be made to qualified scholars, including graduate students, who will undertake studies in history or natural history that will contribute to the interpretation, management or developmental programs of these National Park Service areas. The amounts of the grants will depend upon the nature of the research to be performed. Requests for information about the research grants should be made to the chairman of the Grant-in-Aid Committee of the Association, Dr. Edward M. Riley, Director of Research, Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia.

Rev. William G. Hawkins; Hugh L. Bond; Freedmen's Aid Societies—For a projected study of the Civil War and post-war activities of certain abolitionists in philanthropic and educational work for the freedmen and other social reform efforts, I would welcome information of any kind on the National Freedmen's Relief Association, the American Freedmen's Aid Commission, the Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People, the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association and kindred organizations. I would also be grateful for biographical data, letters or other sources on the Rev. William George Hawkins, a native of Baltimore, editor of *The National Freedman*, and Hugh L. Bond of Baltimore, President of the Eastern Division of the American Freedmen's Aid Commission.

RICHARD K. MACMASTER, S. J.
Woodstock College, Woodstock, Md.

Oursler—Information is desired about this family, its origins, decent and migrations. There were Ourslers in and around Baltimore in the late 18th century and until the 1830's at least, but information about them is very skimpy. There were Ourslers in Indiana in the 1850's and later; they may have come from Ohio. One Indiana family consisted of the following brothers and sisters:

Lafayette (called "Bob"), Rufus, Charles, Marston, Enoch, Martin, Catherine (Mrs. Jesse Hockett), Rebecca (Mrs. Harlan Hadley). What is the connection between the Baltimore and Indiana Ourslers, if any? Could the name be an Anglicized version of a Pennsylvania Dutch name such as Hausler?

WILLIAM A. VAWTER, III
80 Mountain View Ave., Muir Woods Park
Mill Valley, Calif.

Information wanted—For a study of Maryland agriculture, the writer would greatly appreciate hearing about unusual barns in Maryland and receiving any photographs or drawings of such barns, sheds, and other farm outbuildings. Pictures will be returned if requested; otherwise they will be added to the Society's collections. In addition, details of the building's floor plans, construction materials, current and past uses, history of ownership, state of current repair, age, or date of construction, as well as location by county, and the nearest county or state road would be most useful. Since so many of the early barns are being burned or destroyed, particularly near metropolitan areas, there is a sense of urgency to this request.

C. A. PORTER HOPKINS
201 W. Monument St., Baltimore 1

George Mason Papers, Williamsburg, Va.—The historical papers of George Mason, one of Virginia's great colonial statesmen, will be collected, edited and published in a project announced jointly today by the Board of Regents of Gunston Hall and the Institute of Early American History and Culture. Professor Robert A. Rutland of the University of California at Los Angeles will assemble and edit the Mason Papers. Mrs. George H. Johnson, first regent of the Board of Regents of Gunston Hall, said her organization will finance the collecting and editing of the papers. They will be published by the Institute, according to its director, Lester J. Cappon.

Maryland Historical Seminar—The Seminar met on Monday, May 6, at which time a draft chapter of a history of Baltimore which Mr. Wilbur H. Hunter, Jr., Director of the Peale Museum, is writing was discussed with the author. Visiting critics were Mr.

Hamilton Owens, retired Editor-in-Chief of the *Sunpapers*, and Dr. Constance Green, author of a history of Washington, D. C. On the day of the meeting Dr. Green was notified that she had been awarded the Pulitzer Prize in History for Volume I of her book, published in 1962.

The Seminar, modelled on the Advanced Seminar in History of the Johns Hopkins University, was instituted last year to stimulate research and study in Maryland history and to provide authors preparing studies for publication with professional assistance and criticism.

CONTRIBUTORS

DR. JOHN R. LAMBERT, JR. is Professor of American History in the Department of Social Studies at North Carolina State College, Raleigh. He is author of the biography *Arthur Pue Gorman*, 1953, and a contributor to *The Old Line State, A History of Maryland*.

MR. PHILIP EVANSON is a graduate student at the University of Virginia, studying under a National Defense Act Fellowship in History.

MR. SAMUEL H. MILLER is a native of Baltimore and a graduate of the Towson State Teachers College. Publication of the Mettam memoirs was born out of an avid interest in local Civil War history. Mr. Miller is currently writing a history of the Virginia Cavalry, 1860-1865. He has published an article in *Civil War History* and contributed to other journals.

MR. FRANK F. WHITE, JR. is a Junior Archivist at the Hall of Records, Annapolis, and has published several articles in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*.

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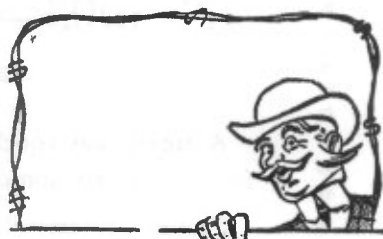
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